

IN THESE TIMES

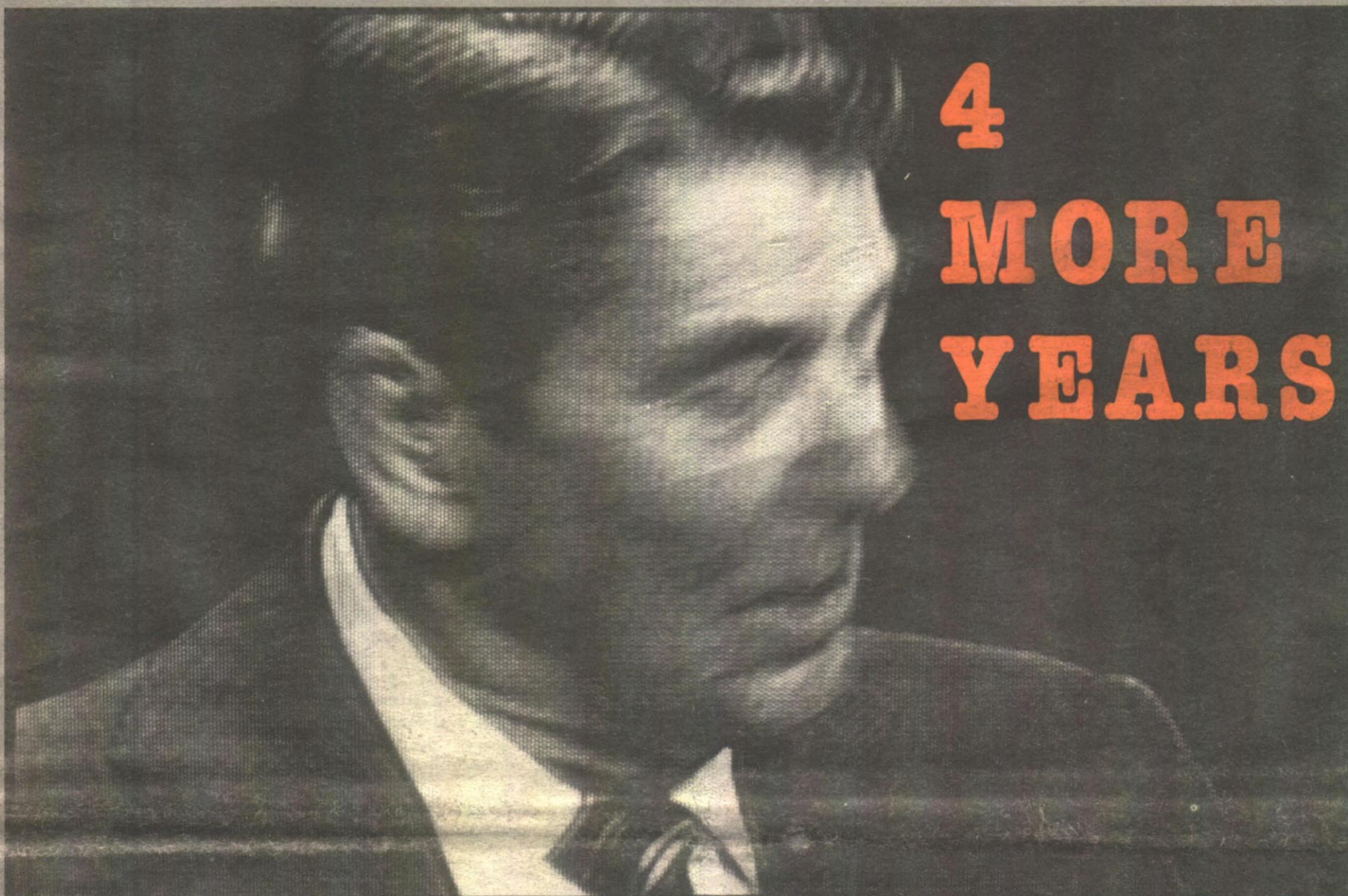
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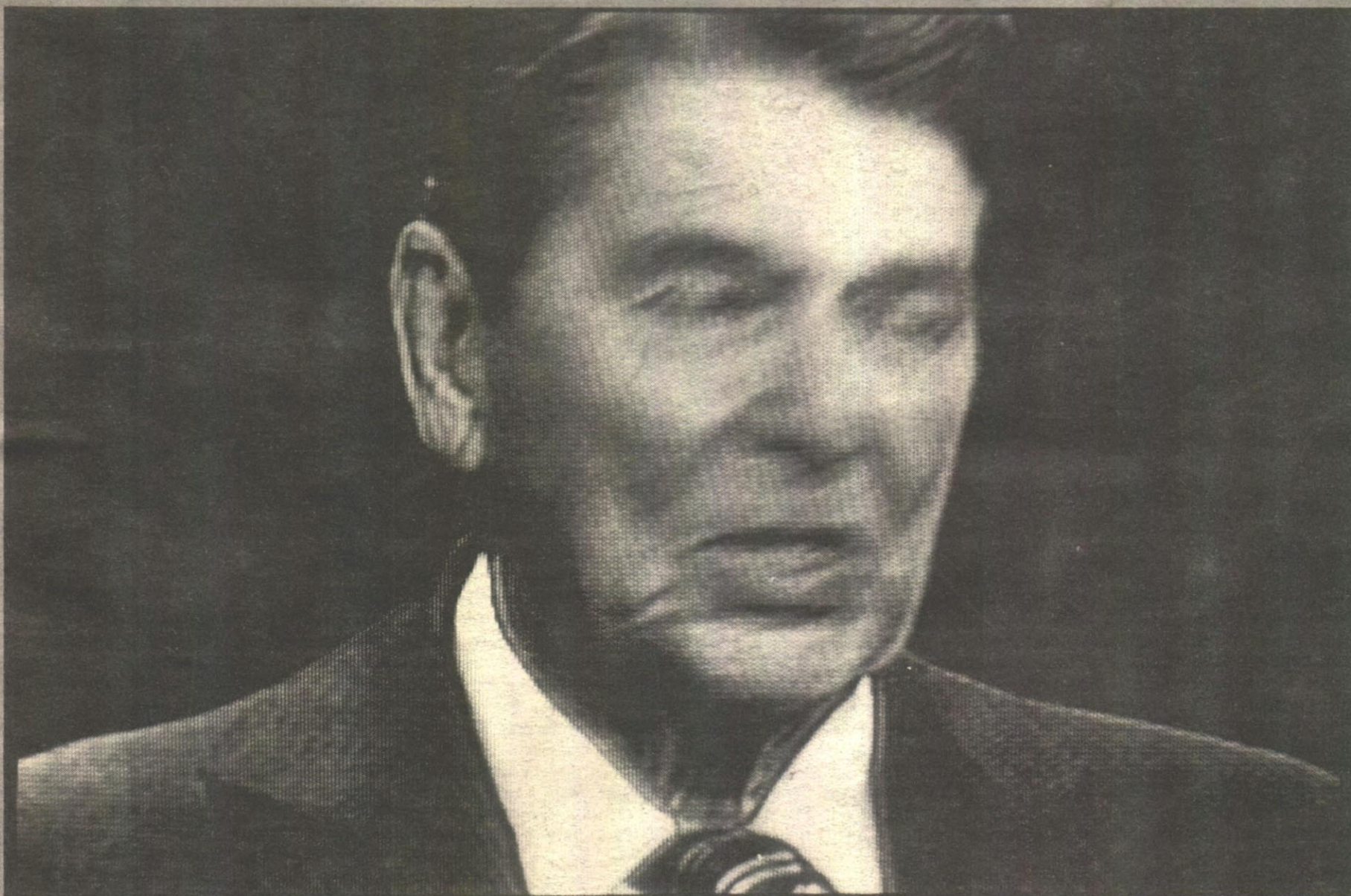
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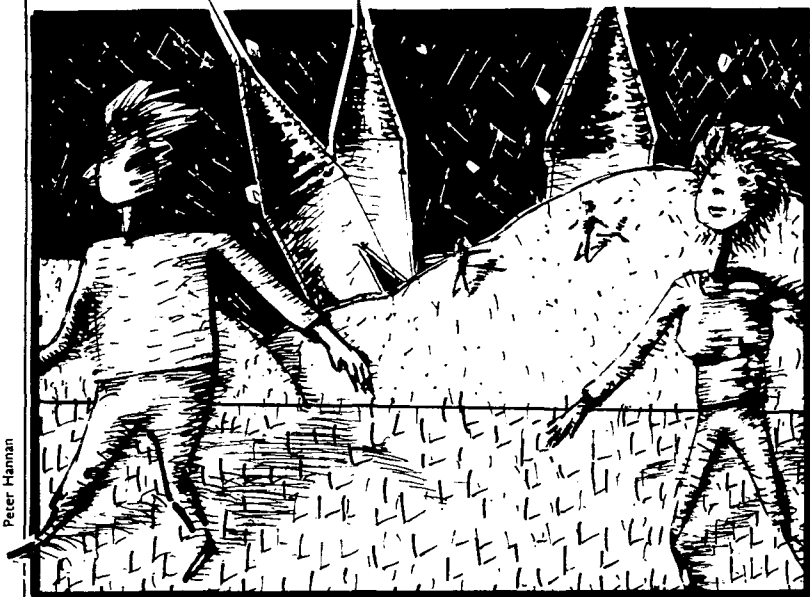


Paul Cornstock

Have the Dems lost the South? page 3

Are there any silver linings? page 5

Was there a gender gap? page 7



Peter Hannan

Mutual dependence

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

It has been a "bitter year" for the peace movement in West Germany, Antje Vollmer told the main rally in Bonn on October 20 as rain clouds gathered. Last year there had been sunshine, millions of people and, above all, hope—hope that this extraordinary protest movement might make a difference and stop the deployment of new nuclear missiles.

All that was gone this year, so it was really no wonder that the October 20 actions apparently brought out little more than the hard core of the peace movement, even though it is a very large hard core, probably numbering in the hundreds of thousands.

To buck the inevitable current of discouragement after failing to stop Pershing II installation, organizers made a bid to link up with the labor movement by stressing the connections between the arms buildup and unemployment. To symbolize the connection, they decided to build a human chain between Hasselbach, a cruise missile base site in the Hunsrück hills south of the Mosel river, and Duisburg, an industrial city at the confluence of the Rhine and Ruhr rivers, whose 16 percent unemployment rate is the highest in West Germany. The trouble was, the two sites were 130 miles apart. To build the chain, at least 200,000 participants were required, and not even half that number showed up.

Demonstrations were held simultaneously in Hamburg and Stuttgart. Estimates of the total turnout varied wildly. The big gaps in the chain allowed much of the media to interpret it not as the symbol of the link between the arms race and unemployment, but as the sign of the decline of the peace movement.

But while the overly ambitious fall actions were totally successful in terms of mass mobilization, they did achieve a *de facto* union of the left. Social Democrats, Greens, trade unionists and Communists shared the speakers' podiums, agreeing that environmental protection and job creation are the twin goals that the left must champion in the effort to build a political majority able to take West Germany out of the arms race. Recent studies and experiences are showing that environmental protection, far from being the hobble to economic activity it is considered by big polluting corporations, can be a new sector providing job and technological development opportunities. But to grow it must compete with military appropriations, which the conservative government of Helmut Kohl is increasing, under pressure from the Americans and, no doubt, the Christian Democrats' generous patron, Friedrich Flick.

Flick's steel baron father, also named Friedrich, befriended Heinrich Himmler, financed Hitler and, as a result, largely controlled Nazi arms production as well as the coal and steel industries in the Nazi-occupied countries. At the Nurnberg war crimes tribunal he was sentenced to seven years in prison but was out in three. Since the elder Flick died in 1972, his son has been following in his footsteps as head of a vast financial empire, including new weapons sectors. It has recently been disclosed that Flick arranged a multi-million-mark sinicure to get Rainer Barzel, who was considered ineffectual, to resign as leader of the Christian Democrats (CDU) in 1973, opening the way for the present chancellor, Helmut Kohl, who has a much more marketable good-guy image.

In late October the Kohl government decided to lengthen obligatory military service from 15 to 18 months. Of course, this brought strong protests from peace movement leaders, who also accused the government of scandalously playing down its simultaneous decision to adopt a "Bundeswehr Plan 85" calling for the procurement of a "third generation of weapons." Budget experts calculate that the share of arms expenditures in the overall budget will mount from about 19 percent at present to about 37 percent by 1994. Peace movement leaders said this means sacrificing social benefits and also adapting the Bundeswehr to the war-waging concepts outlined in the AirLand Battle manual that is endorsed by U.S. and West German army officers.

Two days before the peace demonstrations, a sharp clash in the Bundestag illustrated the way political conflict is turning. In a speech commenting on Chancellor Kohl's recent trip to China, Green Jurgen Reents said Kohl went to China as "traveling salesman for German industry" and promoted sales of harmful and useless technology (including nuclear) whose disadvantages were mostly not yet recognized in developing countries. But, Reents concluded, there was nothing else to expect from a chancellor "whose way to the top of his party was bought clear by Flick."

Some time later, after receiving the official transcript, the presiding officer, Richard Stucklen of Franz-Josef Strauss' right-wing Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU), announced he was expelling Reents from the Bundestag's current plenary session for his "outrageous" reproach. The shocked Greens' request for a recess was cut off. Protesting from the floor, Green Walter Schwenninger called Stucklen an "authoritarian buffoon" and Green Joschka Fischer yelled things like, "Now it's started, exclude everybody," whereupon he was excluded as well. At that Fischer shouted to the chair, "With permission, you're an asshole, Herr President!" This was not in the official record, but nevertheless Fischer immediately wrote Stucklen an elaborately courteous apology, explaining that he had been overwrought.

On the other side, right-wing Christian Democratic speakers did not hesitate to compare Green "methods" to those of Nazi extremists who destroyed the democracy of the Weimar Republic. The right-wing tactic is to distract from the Flick scandals which have led to militarization and unemployment—by creating an atmosphere of panic around the "chaos" supposedly introduced into German democracy by the Greens. Thus to "save democracy," authoritarian measures will be required. Another objective is to harp on the image of the Greens as chaotic and destructive (with the essential help of the right-wing media, of course) so that the midstream as well as the conservative wing of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) will balk at the prospect of a "red-green" governing coalition—the only possibility of an eventual real left alternative to the various coalition combinations that may be worked out among the older established parties.

A leading champion of an eventual red-green alliance is Jo Leinen, chairman of the peace movement coordinating committee and of the big Citizens' Initiatives environmentalist confederation. Leinen is earmarked to be named Environmental Minister of the Saarland by Oskar Lafontaine, the dynamic 41-year-old mayor of Saarbrücken, if Lafontaine leads the SPD to victory as expected in elections in the Saarland next March. Lafontaine, who has a degree in physics, has been a pioneer in energy-saving measures and urban environmentalism and has even managed to balance the budget in an old industrial city hit hard by unemployment. He won re-election in June with an absolute majority for the SPD, convincing many of his party's leaders that the "Lafontaine method" is the way for the SPD to get back in office. He competes electorally with the Greens, yet at the same time urges them to share government responsibility in coalition with the SPD if they want to be taken seriously.

As main speaker toward the end of the Bonn rally, Lafontaine had to cut his speech short when a downpour struck. The one point he managed to get across was that "we don't count on arms control negotiations which have always been the background music to arms buildups. We want one-sided disarmament." Lafontaine said that promises to do something about unemployment were lies on the lips of politicians so long as arms spending continued to rise. Earlier, Leinen declared that "the political morality of this government has reached rock bottom. This government has been bought—not only Barzel but Kohl too must go." Introducing Antje Vollmer, speaker of the Greens in the Bundestag, Leinen stressed the Greens' "contribution to a new political culture" in West Germany.

Indeed, the success of the left SPD strategy, represented by Lafontaine and Leinen, depends on the vigorous survival of the Greens and their political culture, as a pole of attraction countering the conservative tug pulling much of the SPD to the right. All this depends in turn on the vigorous survival of the movements

THE STORY INSIDE

that gave rise to the Greens, especially the peace and ecology movements. Thus leaders had cause for concern on October 20 that, although the outlook for an eventual red-green coalition is, on the whole, improving, the mass movement that sustains such a hope is in danger of receding.

Vollmer voiced this concern. She noted the danger of discouragement and resignation. A potentially even greater political danger, she said, is to think that "the growing peace movement in the SPD or the Greens' work in parliament could take care of what we have to do. The peace movement belongs in the streets and should not dwindle down to the narrow channels of SPD or Green local clubs."

Vollmer then made four suggestions for a long range perspective and strategy. First, "this peace movement must at all cost remain independent and extraparlamentarian." Second, Vollmer said that "we are opposing Pershing and cruise missiles as the spearhead of a NATO strategy and must thereby also prepare for withdrawal from NATO. But we don't want a substitute NATO. When Helmut Kohl and Francois Mitterrand stood hand in hand before the graves in Verdun, I could not simply see the picture of reconciliation of two men. We are not combatting Pershing and cruise missiles as American strategy just in order to put in their place a German-French *force de frappe*. Nor are we combatting nuclear weapons on our soil in order to have a conventional arms buildup.... We want radical disarmament in Central Europe!" Vollmer also called for a peace treaty with both German states to finally conclude World War II and a long-range combat against all forms of internal militarization.

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IN THESE TIMES



Republican wins lead party a step closer to realignment

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

IN THE FACE OF TWO IMPORTANT Senate victories and fewer than feared losses in the House of Representatives, many Democrats are minimizing Ronald Reagan's landslide victory over former Vice-President Walter Mondale. While attributing Reagan's victory to his personality—Rep. Tip O'Neill speculated that Reagan may be "the most popular politician ever"—they are contending that the congressional results show no significant shift from the Democratic to the Republican column. Any talk of a Republican realignment, they say, was premature at best.

In the Northeast, Midwest and Pacific Northwest, the Democrats seem to have a good case (see story page 5). Several vulnerable House members like Connecticut's Bruce Morrison, New York's Bob Mrazek, Pennsylvania's Robert Kostmayer, Ohio's Marcy Kaptur and Illinois' Lane Evans withstood strong Republican opposition and the president's coattails. And in Senate races, Illinois' Paul Simon, Iowa's Tom Harkin and Massachusetts' John Kerry ran against the Reagan tide. Except in a few pockets of conservatism like New Hampshire, the Democrats still have an important political base in the so-called Frost Belt and the Pacific Northwest.

It can certainly be argued that in 1986, when a recession is likely, when the Republican Class of '80 will be up for re-election to the Senate, and when Reagan will be a lameduck surrounded by feud-

ing pretenders to the throne, the Democrats will be able to widen their lead in the House and perhaps regain the Senate.

But the election results in the South—both in the presidential and in the Senate, House and gubernatorial races—must give the Democrats pause before rejoicing. In the South, once the bedrock of the Democratic Party, Reagan won every state from Texas to Florida—many by almost two-to-one margins.

In the Senate races, the Republicans won closely contested races in Texas, Mississippi and North Carolina between conservative Republicans and "New South" Democrats. They won an upset victory in the North Carolina gubernatorial race. And they won important House races in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

Republican gains were particularly striking in North Carolina and Texas—the two states targeted for registration drives by the New Right and the Moral Majority's American Coalition for Traditional Values. In both states, about 25 percent of the electorate described themselves as "born again Christians."

In Texas Reagan won 64 percent of the presidential vote and Republican Phil Gramm won 59 percent in the Senate race. In North Carolina, where turnouts increased 3.4 percent, the largest increase of any state in the nation, Sen. Jesse Helms won 52 percent of the vote, underdog Republican gubernatorial candidate James Martin won 54 percent and Reagan won 62 percent. In addition, three incumbent Democratic House members were defeated by Helms-backed challengers, and two others barely

escaped defeat.

By their successes, the Republicans still have not become the dominant party in the South. In most rural areas, there is little Republican organization, and not one Southern state legislature is Republican controlled. But they have shown that on the presidential level they are the majority party and that they are becoming so on

DECISION

84

Republicans have shown that on the presidential level they are the majority party and are becoming so on the Senate and gubernatorial level.

In 1984, the Republicans were the party of Reagan and Helms and Democrats the party of Mondale and Jackson.

the Senate and gubernatorial level. Indeed, the conditions appear to exist for the Republicans to mount a challenge to the Democrats' control of the statehouses.

Reagan's and the Republican's gains in the South have national significance. If the Republicans can count on the South as well as the West in presidential elections, then the Democrats will have difficulty, short of a depression, electing a president. And if they can win a majority of Senate and eventually House seats in the South, then they can achieve the majority realignment that the Democrats so much fear. In 1984, Reagan and the Republicans may have taken an important step toward such a realignment.

Secret of success.

Reagan's success in the South this year was attributable in part to Mondale's writing off the South. He broke tradition by not choosing a Southerner as his running mate; and he and Geraldine Ferraro barely campaigned in the South. On the other side, Reagan campaigned extensively in the South and his appeals to patriotic pride and moral fundamentalism were bound to strike a receptive chord in the South.

But the underlying factor in Reagan's and the Republican's success was a marked racial polarization in the electorate. If the Republicans in 1984 were the party of Ronald Reagan and Jesse Helms, then the Democrats became the party of Walter Mondale and the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

The polarization showed up dramatically in opinion polls taken during the election. Throughout the South, Reagan was reported to have won 75 percent of the white vote (compared to 64 percent nationally). In Mississippi, he won 85 percent of the white vote, while Mondale won from 90 to 95 percent of the black

Continued on page 6

INSHORT

A little good news

In the five locales where a "jobs with peace" referendum was on the ballot last week, four passed handily with at least 60 percent of the vote. In defense stronghold Los Angeles, successful Proposition X asks the city council to report how many tax dollars are spent for defense, and to prepare a plan showing how the city could benefit if that were reduced to 1980 levels and the remainder channeled into education, housing, transportation and the like. Frank Clemente of Jobs with Peace attributed the win to a feeling of "job blackmail" that exists in the L.A. area. A day after the election he said, "People do want a change—they just need concrete proposals that will show them how the alternative will work."

Who's your neighbor?

And the Center for Economic Conversion has recently published a 180-page workbook to help people with that first tortuous step in conversion: compiling information about defense contractors in your community from the maze of public records and trade publications in order to compute how big a role military spending plays in your locale.

The task is not easy. The contracts and records you need are often affixed with desperately confusing military codes, but *The Military in Your Backyard* is laid out in a step-by-step workbook style to help the decoding process. And when you're finished, what you always wanted to know about the military but were afraid to ask is startlingly clear. Which companies do the most business with the military? How many people work directly or indirectly for them? How will specific buildups or cutbacks in the defense budget affect your locale? Copies of *The Military in Your Backyard* can be purchased for \$14.20 from the Center for Economic Conversion, 222 View St., Mountain View, CA 94041.

Block that CIA

Students at Tufts University learned that if you've posted vigilant guards in your backyard, you *can* keep the military out. When a CIA recruiter showed up at the Somerville, Mass., campus last month, 25 students blocked his entrance to the Career Guidance and Placement meeting, stopping him from distributing information about the agency. The protesting students were summoned to a disciplinary hearing by the Tufts administration, and they came well-prepared with a 12-page defense of their action. Citing student handbook guidelines that "disciplinary probation should be meted out when one's behavior has breached the standards of the community," the protesters decided to put the CIA on trial. The students claimed that CIA involvement in Nicaragua tramples on the Tufts community regard for international law and human rights. They also recounted the documentation of the CIA's practice of funding covert research and covert recruitment of students at universities nationwide and argued that this subverts the "free exchange of ideas" upheld by the university. After first hearing their case, the administration decided that no disciplinary action should be taken against the students. More discussion ensued, and a week later the deans decided that no further CIA recruitment would be allowed on campus until the administration decided if the students' charges had merit.

IRS maneuvers

Suppose they give an auction and too many people come? Last week in Chicago the IRS planned to auction off seized property but temporarily postponed the auction when 75 or so people showed up to support the property owner. Michael McConnell, a leader in the sanctuary movement, had his house seized in June for failure to pay \$900 in military taxes for 1981 and 1982. McConnell suspects his long opposition to U.S. policies in Central America may have triggered the harsh retaliation by the IRS. The orderly crowd was told that the large room where the auctions usually were held was too small to accommodate them, and an agent from the Criminal Investigation Division—present in case the supporters "got out of hand"—ushered them out, saying that the auction would be held at a later unspecified date.

How do you spell security?

Say the words "Mutual of Omaha" and what comes to mind? The mellifluous voice of Marlin Perkins narrating *Wild Kingdom*. As one of the world's largest insurance companies, Mutual tries hard to keep their image soothing and safe. So when nuclear freeze supporter Franklyn Novak started cranking out "Mutant of Omaha Nuclear Holocaust Insurance" T-shirts, the insurance executives were none too pleased with his entrepreneurial spirit. Novak's slogan did not endear him to them either: "When the world's in ashes, we'll have you covered." Enough's enough, they decided, and last week Mutual sued Novak for trademark infringement. Though the likelihood that Novak's mutant image will creep into the public's mind and cut into Mutual's \$1.6 billion a year premiums is exceedingly slim, Mutual believes in cracking down before things get out of hand. As it is, Novak claims that Mutual's insurance agents are some of his best customers.

—Beth Maschinot



Mitch Snyder, of the Community for Creative Non-violence, on the 49th day of a 51-day fast. Snyder ended the fast last week when Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler agreed to renovate Washington, D.C.'s, largest shelter for the homeless.

"Unholy alliance" forms over pornography law

NEW YORK—Late last month the legislature in Suffolk County, New York, held public hearings on a local law to "limit violence against women." A similar law has been passed and vetoed for the second time in Minneapolis, passed and immediately challenged in court in Indianapolis, and will be introduced in a half dozen other city and county legislatures in the next few months.

The Suffolk law combines right-wing language with traditional feminist concerns, finding that pornography "promotes and encourages behavior inimical to the public good such as rape, sodomy, battery and assault, acts of aggression against women, the degradation and exploitation of women, child abuse, incest and disruption of the family unit." The law is modeled on legislation developed by Andrea Dworkin and Catherine McKinnon.

The law defines pornography as "the sexually explicit subordination of women, graphically depicted, whether in pictures or in words," where women are presented "in postures of sexual submission," as "whores by nature," as "sexual objects" who enjoy pain or rape, as body parts "such that women are reduced to those parts," or "in scenarios of

degradation, injury, abasement, torture or shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual." Women can try to prove that a denial of their civil rights (by a rapist, an employer, a husband) was caused by a particular piece of pornography and can receive financial compensation for this denial.

The feminists at the Suffolk County hearings were divided between members of Women Against Pornography (WAP), who support the bill but find it too weak, and members of the ACLU and the Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce (FACT), which oppose it. But the majority of the speakers were right-wing fundamentalists: members of the Eagle Forum, the National League for Decency, the Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship and others forwarding an odd mix of views, including the belief that the ERA is one of the evils pornography has brought into being. One witness also testified that pornography advances worldwide Communism since it is causing the U.S. to fulfill Nikita Khrushchev's prediction that America will be destroyed from within.

One opponent of the bill who was an object of particular derision from the right was Bill

Baird, a one-time anti-war activist who now runs an abortion clinic in Hempstead, Long Island. Baird read passages from the Bible that featured the "sexually explicit subordination of women," some of which strongly suggested that certain women were "whores by nature."

At the first hearing, one woman legislator asked to see Baird in the hall and took a swing at him—in the name of a law intended to limit violence. At the second hearing, Baird appeared with more quotes, and a male legislator felt compelled to leave the room for the duration of his testimony.

A decision to vote on the Suffolk legislation will be made in the next few weeks.

Meanwhile, in Indianapolis Judge Sarah Evans Barker's ruling on the legality of a similar law is due soon. Other cities, including Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, Des Moines, Los Angeles and St. Louis have legislation ready if Judge Barker rules in favor of the Indianapolis law. The Illinois Commission on the Status of Women is also discussing the pros and cons of the legislation and eyeing it for possible introduction at the state level.

McKinnon claims that hundreds of other cities, towns and counties have requested information about the legislation. Whatever Judge Barker decides in Indianapolis, both WAP and FACT say they will appeal the verdict all the way to the Supreme Court. Both sides see a long, divisive battle ahead.

—Kate Ellis

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



By David Moberg

WHEN RONALD REAGAN won in 1980, hopeful souls on the left of the Democratic Party consoled themselves: four years of Reaganism would provoke an electoral rebellion. For a while it looked that way—Watt, PATCO, MX, depression. The party's left wing—women, blacks, environmentalists, community organizers, labor, nuclear freeze advocates—stepped up electoral efforts. There were solid wins in the 1982 congressional elections and in local races, such as those in Chicago and Philadelphia.

Looking at the wreckage on November 7, it's hard at first glance to justify that earlier belief. What happened to that left? Are there any signs of hope to alleviate the painful echo of "four more years"?

First remember that Mondale's was the worst defeat. Reagan had incumbency, a forceful but folksy style, spotty economic recovery, a telegenic style perfect for a carefully conceived campaign of vague, reassuring imagery and powerful advertising. It was a personal victory. But it was also a standard triumph of business-cycle politics. Besides, Mondale still dragged the ghost of Carter past with him. For many it was a replay of 1980.

But it was also a victory of sorts for Reagan's ideology, if not always his precise policies. Now many people feel the economy is fragile. They are persuaded there's no surplus. American political culture—unstable, shallow and contradictory as it is—has thus shifted toward a greater acceptance of greed, callousness and contempt for ideals of social responsibility.

Yet some Democrats on the left succeeded despite the Reagan triumph. Most notably Tom Harkin and Paul Simon won Senate seats in Iowa and Illinois. Both capitalized on discontent with persistent economic woes and played effectively on weaknesses of the Republican incumbents. They stressed issues like job loss, natural gas price controls, toxic waste clean-up, nuclear freeze and support for family farmers—or, especially Harkin, a less militaristic policy in Central America. Reagan won narrowly in both states. That suggests conditions were ripe for Democratic challenges.

Roger Jepsen in Iowa was widely viewed as an embarrassment, and many Illinois Republicans didn't like Percy. Simon did well downstate and even in suburban areas where Percy needed a wide margin. Moving to the right and running, as he said, for the first time against a candidate to his left, onetime liberal Republican Percy lost heavily among liberals, blacks and Jews who had often given him significant support in the past. The big, solidly Democratic black Chicago vote was decisive, Simon acknowledged. Democratic machine ethnic Chicagoans stuck by Simon more than Mondale, but the newly conservative Percy appealed to a large bloc of them.

All the Democratic women challengers for Senate seats were wiped out (see story page 7). In Texas, Phil Gramm beat liberal Lloyd Doggett, and Jesse "Prince of Darkness" Helms held off moderately conservative James Hunt in North Carolina. Democrat Albert Gore Jr. won as expected in Tennessee, but Walter Huddleston (D-KY) was upset. But it wasn't all bad for Democrats—including liberals.

Republicans had counted on picking off many more new liberal Democrats than they did. Instead of 26, they won only 14 or 15. Indeed, most of the House Democrats who lost were conservatives, although Clarence Long (MD), Joseph Minish (NJ) and William Ratchford (CN) were standard Northern moderate liberals. Yet Republicans failed to pick off some vulnerable Democrats with stronger liberal records, such as Robert Mrazek (NY), Marcy Kaptur (OH), Peter Kostmayer (PA), Robert Edgar (PA), Edward Feighan (OH), George Brown (CA), Harley Staggers (WV), Robert Carr (MI) and Bruce Morrison (CN). Although the winning Democrats were not especially liberal, ultraconservative Republicans George



In Illinois, victorious Paul Simon capitalized on discontent with persistent economic woes.

THE LEFT

Not all the news was bad news

Hansen of Idaho and Daniel Crane of southern Illinois both lost.

Morrison, a fervent opponent of Reagan's domestic and foreign policy who was elected in 1982, won support from the Democratic establishment and even such conservative bastions as the right-wing *New Haven Register* through his hard work bringing federal dollars to the district, correspondent Paul Bass reports. Morrison told election night supporters that voters seemed "of two minds," liking Reagan but wanting to control the arms race, cut the deficit and protect Medicare, Social Security and affirmative action. His victory, despite Republicans targeting him for defeat, shows, he said, that "you don't have to compromise your principles to be re-elected in America."

Midwestern prairie populism emerged as one of the strongest Democratic trends bucking the Reagan juggernaut. Harkin of Iowa organized the populist caucus in Congress. Although Simon declines the populist label, he also votes much like the new left populists (as opposed to the New Right "populists," such as fundraiser Richard Viguerie or Rep. Jack Kemp [R-NY]).

With a record in his first year in Con-

gress as the member most frequently voting against the president in a traditionally Republican district, Rep. Lane Evans—from a manufacturing-farming district in western Illinois—seemed theoretically vulnerable. But Evans increased his margin of victory over the same Republican he beat in 1982 while sticking to his "populist" themes of job creation, protection of Social Security and stopping the arms buildup. Maybe more important, he serv-

ed his constituents well. But Carl Schwerdtfeger, advocating a similar populist politics in an adjoining district, was defeated by Rep. Lynn Martin, who benefitted from a big Reagan vote in the president's childhood home district and her image as a moderate Republican.

Self-styled populists held their seats, often in the face of huge Reagan margins. Populist caucus members Byron Dorgan (ND), Bob Wise (WV), Mike Synar (OK) and Thomas Daschle (SD) all won reelection handily. Incumbent left populist Rep. Gerry Sikorski (MN) successfully battled New Right "populist" Patrick Trueman for the label and the seat. Not bothering with the label, former Sheriff James Traficant of Youngstown, Ohio, has what many might call a populist style—if they were being polite. Traficant, who defeated moderate Republican Lyle Williams, attacks the banks, big business and the Internal Revenue Service. He won blue-collar praise when he stopped local police from interfering with union pickets and refused to foreclose on mortgages of down-and-out workers. He is also known for his erratic flamboyance, his own trial (and acquittal) on charges of accepting bribes during his sheriff campaign, his attacks on drugs and the local Mafia and his anti-Communist, pro-military views.

A mixed bunch.

Some populists, like Harkin and Evans, are consistently but creatively on the left, but the populist crowd is a mixed bunch. Sikorski, for example, is opposed to women's right to abortion, just like his right-wing opponent, a national anti-abortion leader. Most populists strongly oppose lifting controls on natural gas prices, but not Synar of Oklahoma.

The new populism may be vague, contradictory and inadequate: although usually pro-union, the populist ideal is a country of small businesses and family farms. But it deals with once again allying disaffected independents and white men with the hard core of Democrats. It fudges misleading definitions of "liberal" and "conservative," arguing that traditional values—work, family, community, love of country—are threatened

by unrestrained corporate power. Populists try to identify with workers, farmers and small business people against big banks, corporations and, at times, the government establishment. At a time when many whites, especially men, are fleeing the Democratic Party, when "liberalism" has been tarred and feathered (usually for the wrong reasons) and when the Democrats desperately need an ideology that can unify and transcend the party's fragmented interest-group politics, the new populism is at least a rival to the rising star of neoliberalism.

Nowhere is the division of the parties between blacks and whites more pronounced and damaging than in the South. Pioneer black legislator Robert Clark again narrowly lost to Republican Webb Franklin in Mississippi's Delta region. The Reagan tide among whites wiped out the effects of redistricting, new black voter registration and an improved effort to get out the vote. Although precise figures are not available, Clark's campaign staff believes he continued to draw about 15 percent of white votes. Voting rights attorneys are demanding redistricting that creates a larger black majority.

Even in black regions, however, the

Midwestern prairie populism emerged as one of the strongest Democratic trends bucking the Reagan juggernaut.

left could claim some victories. Although Reagan swept Connecticut, where both houses of the state legislature swung heavily Republican, there were wins by community organizer Miles Rapoport (by a 12-vote margin), former NOW coordinator Lynn Taborsak, Gary Hart coordinator Jonathan Pelto and reform Democrat Pat O. Dillon. But Connecticut Citizens Action Group leader Doreen Del Bianco was drowned in the Reagan tide. In Massachusetts two state legislative candidates linked to Massachusetts Fair Share won their races.

California showed its usual splits. Far-rightist "B-1 Bob" Dornan beat moderately liberal Jerry Patterson in part of

Continued on page 6

D E C I S I O N

84

gress as the member most frequently voting against the president in a traditionally Republican district, Rep. Lane Evans—from a manufacturing-farming district in western Illinois—seemed theoretically vulnerable. But Evans increased his margin of victory over the same Republican he beat in 1982 while sticking to his "populist" themes of job creation, protection of Social Security and stopping the arms buildup. Maybe more important, he serv-

Left

Continued from page 5

Orange County. But the entire Berkeley Citizens Action slate won, giving the left a seven-to-one majority. The three candidates of the Santa Monica renters' rights coalition won the top three spots in council races there, but in a monumental goof-up, the fourth candidate failed to get enough signatures to be placed on the ballot. So the left lost its majority on the council and, with that, the mayor's office.

The major conservative initiatives—to cut welfare, restrict local tax increases and change methods of reapportioning districts—were all defeated there. "I'm feeling really up about the elections," Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) organizer Craig Merrilees said. "There were a number of contradictory movements but no realignment, no major reactionary tide, no sweeping conservatism."

Ever-optimistic Heather Booth, director of the State and Local Leadership Project, was not as cheery as Merrilees. But she argued that "candidates that ran with clear progressive lines did better than those who moderated." Party establishment and rising neoliberal stars will disagree. Reagan's course will certainly end in such disasters that Democrats will win big in 1986, Booth predicts. Hope flickers on.

South

Continued from page 3
vote, depending on the poll.

According to NBC, more than 80 percent of black voters in Mississippi identified themselves as Democrats, while only 20 percent of white voters did. According to pollster Lou Harris, white born-again Christians in the South backed Reagan by four-to-one and other Republicans by almost the same margin.

The breakdown of the black and white vote in many of the specific races is not yet available, but it is known that racial polarization played a key role in North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms' victory over Gov. James Hunt and in Rep. Webb Franklin's victory in Mississippi over black challenger Robert Clark. According to the NBC poll, popular Alabama Democratic Senator Howell Heflin failed to carry a majority of whites against his lackluster opponent.

Some Southern Democrats argue that racial polarization in presidential choices is due to a complex of issues. South Carolina Democratic National Committee head Don Fowler told the *Washington Post* last month, "There has developed on the part of white people an assumption that anything that follows in the trend of [Hubert H.] Humphrey and Mondale is not worthy of consideration. The turnoff began with civil rights and the race issue. Then it got entwined with the antiwar, hippie image, and more recently with women's lib and gay rights.... It's reached a point where people here think that it's us on one side and them on the other."

But in 1984, the white-black split may have been more directly attributable to racial issues.

Jesse Jackson's impact.

In the '50s and '60s, many Southern whites, angered by the civil rights movement, began voting for Republican presidential candidates. In 1964 Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater carried five Southern states. But in the '70s, "new South" Democrats like Jimmy Carter, Hunt, Mississippi's William Winter and South Carolina's Richard Riley seemed on the verge of creating an integrated Democratic Party in the South.

Their effort, heralded by Jack Bass and Walter DeVries' influential book, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, promised to re-establish the Democratic majority in the South and the na-

tion. But except in the Arkansas Senate race, the 1984 elections cast doubt upon the longevity of this trend.

One important factor that turned whites away from the Democratic Party and threatened the "new South" strategy was the development of a new black politics in the South, led by Jesse Jackson. During his primary campaign, he emphasized black political empowerment both through increased black participation in politics and through changing the rules governing political primaries.

In several Southern states, Jackson's followers tried to take over local Democratic organizations. In Hinds County (Jackson), Mississippi, Jackson's followers elected 23 of their own to the 30-member county executive committee. Whites began to perceive the Democratic Party as "Jackson's party." Jack Bass says, "The effect of Jackson's campaign was to raise racial rather than class consciousness."

Bass believes that by choosing Jackson as his representative in the South, Mondale created the conditions of his own demise. "If the Reagan campaign could have had one wish in the South, it would have been to have Mondale appoint Jackson as his representative," Bass said. "The Republicans didn't have to exploit the racial issue. It exploited itself."

Jackson's campaign may have contributed to the split in another way. As Howard University Political Scientist Alvin Thornton, a Jackson delegate to the Democratic Platform Committee, points out, the Jackson campaign was different from the earlier efforts to secure black political power. "Now we're talking about foreign policy and economic redistribution," Thornton says. In the South as well as in much of the North, Jackson's program for economic redistribution appeared to be a call for taxing whites on behalf of blacks.

The Republicans did their best to take advantage of the doubts that Jackson sowed among white Democrats. In his North Carolina Senate race, Helms made his opposition to Martin Luther King's birthday becoming a national holiday the centerpiece of his campaign. (In his first debate with Hunt, he led off by asking Hunt how he could support the plan.) He lost few opportunities to link Hunt and Jackson. One Helms advertisement, titled "Jim Hunt's Political Machine," showed pictures of Jackson and Georgia civil rights leader Julian Bond, alongside pictures of Mondale and Sen. Edward Kennedy.

One Southern state chairman sent out a fundraising letter in which he warned that "Jesse Jackson is registering millions of new minority voters in a new and frightening racist campaign against President Reagan."

The Reagan campaign itself appealed more subtly to white Democrats. Bass tells of recently watching a film of one of George Wallace's 1968 speeches and realizing that the Wallace message—anti-welfare, anti-Washington, anti-government—was little different than that of Reagan in 1984. Only Reagan had sufficiently sanitized Wallace's message that its racial undertones were only heard by those toward whom the message was directed: "Reagan appealed to white prejudices and made them respectable," Bass said.

According to the non-partisan *National Journal*, the Moral Majority's campaign in the South discreetly played upon white racial fears. The Rev. Jerry Falwell was an early supporter of segregationist all-white private schools, and one of the conservative fundamentalist's chief issues in the South—tuition tax credits—is a thinly veiled appeal to backers of segregated as well as denominational schools.

The realignment threat.

In 1984, Republicans interested in a realignment in the South could take heart not only from Reagan's total but from the fate of several conservative Democrats who switched their allegiance. Florida's Rep. Andy Ireland easily won re-election, four-term Alabama state legislator Sonny Callahan won a House seat in Mobile and Rep. Phil Gramm won the Texas Senate race. For a realignment

to take place, many more conservative Democrats will have to decide to change parties.

Bass does not believe that the Republicans will succeed in establishing a local base in the South. He compares the 1984 election to 1972, in which Republican gains were wiped out two years hence, and he observes that outside of the presidential contest, Republican strength in the South has not risen substantially since 1968. But there are several conditions that suggest that the Southern realignment could continue.

Jackson's role in the 1984 election was special, but Jackson accelerated and made more visible an existing trend in Southern black politics. Southern blacks can be expected to continue pressing for political power within the Democratic Party—and whites can be expected to continue resisting this trend. Lorn Foster of the Washington-based Joint Center for Political Studies says, "polarization was there, Jackson or no Jackson."

The political split between blacks and whites has been reinforced both nationally and in the South by the decline in American economic performance, which has particularly hurt blacks, and by the Reagan administration's social and fiscal policies, which have especially threatened blacks.

One set of NBC poll questions brought home this difference between blacks and whites. Asked whether they were better off today than four years ago, 48 percent of whites said yes and only 11 percent of blacks. Asked whether they thought Reagan's economic policies had helped them, 58 percent of whites thought so and only 12 percent of blacks. And asked whether they thought the administration's policies had been fair, 50 percent of whites thought so, and only 7 percent of blacks.

The Joint Center's Foster thinks that whites' and blacks' different perceptions of their economic situation is a key to polarized voting in the South. "Clearly the white South sees that it has advanced socially," Foster says. "Blacks are at the

bottom of the economic barrel and therefore see government differently—as a positive and necessary force."

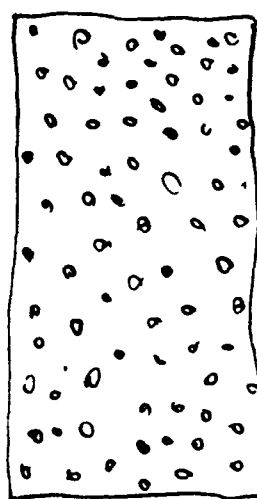
The threat of a realignment in Southern politics along racial lines goes beyond the question of who wins elections, the red or the blue team. As the U.S. has headed into a period of slowing economic growth and declining international prestige and power, it has developed a coherent and powerful right-wing politics, while its center and liberal left, whose success had been based on the premise of continued prosperity, have disintegrated. In this sense, the South is a microcosm of America. It contains both the promise and the threat of a new American politics.

As Bass thought he foresaw in the '70s, the South could realign itself politically along class lines, with poor, working and middle-class whites in the Democratic Party and the upper and upper-middle classes in the Republican Party. Such a realignment in the South would lay the basis for a left-right realignment nationally.

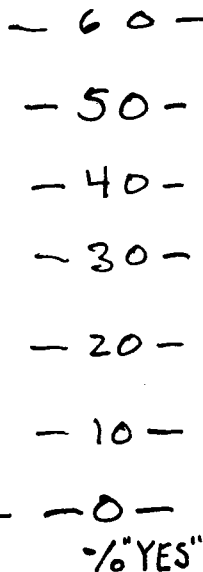
But as 1984 suggests, the South and parts of the North could realign themselves in such a way as to blur and obscure class lines—and the political program upon which they might be based. The New Right Republicans have always understood the danger that a genuine class realignment would pose to them—there are, after all, many more people who make less than \$30,000 a year than who make more than this. And the Republicans have used a variety of social appeals—ranging from busing to abortion to school prayer—to win the allegiance of erstwhile Democrats.

In the U.S., there is no issue that has so obscured the class lines of politics as that of race. If the Republicans can consign the Democratic Party in the South to blacks, they will have laid the basis for a long-term majority for themselves and the right. The test of Democrats in the years to come will be to prevent them from doing so.

ARE YOU BETTER OFF THAN
YOU WERE FOUR YEARS AGO?

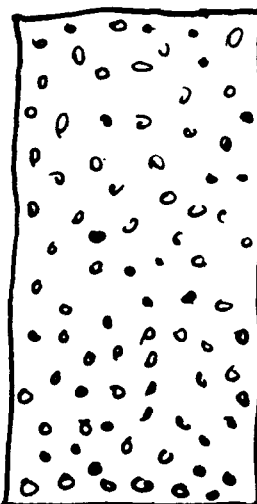


WHITES

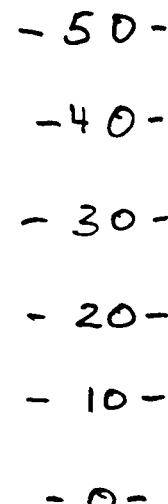


% "YES" BLACKS

HAVE THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S
POLICIES BEEN FAIR?



WHITES



% "YES" BLACKS

GENDER GAP

Women fare badly with weak support in hopeless races

By Joan Walsh

FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL TICKET through U.S. House and Senate races to the electoral fissure that passed for the national "gender gap," the election results were a resounding disappointment to those who hoped women could provide the political glue to hold together a winning Democratic majority this year.

With the defeat of the first woman vice presidential nominee, all six women Senate hopefuls and women U.S. House challengers, as well as Ronald Reagan's solid majority of the women's vote, the immediate task of women's groups linked with the Democratic effort is damage control. Their own high expectations and successful self-promotion, combined with the desperation of Democratic leadership, set Democratic women up for a fall. Now they must make sure that the party's appeal to women doesn't become its scapegoat when it once was its salvation.

Analyzing how women across the country voted and why will take more than an election post-mortem. In the immediate wake of Reagan's victory attention focused on exit polls showing that the president's gender gap, which was 8 percent in the 1980 election, was only 4 percent this year, according to CBS News surveys. Reagan got 61 percent of the men's vote and a surprising 57 percent of the women's. The gap was larger in the Northeast, where a majority of women went for Mondale, but was nonexistent in the South.

Exit polls zeroed in on Ferraro's impact on the election outcome, with conflicting reports. NBC News had the worst assessment. It found that most voters said the vice-presidential nominee didn't figure in their choice. But while 16 percent said Ferraro made them more likely to vote for Mondale, 26 percent said she made them less likely. Even women said Ferraro made them less, rather than more likely to favor Mondale, 24 percent to 19.

CBS and ABC polls had more favorable assessments of Ferraro's candidacy. ABC found that voters who said they didn't care about the vice-presidential candidates favored Reagan 62 to 38, but among voters who said it mattered, the margin was closer, 55 to 45. CBS found a huge gender gap among the 10 percent of voters who cared about vice president: 63 percent of the women said it made them favor Mondale, compared with 38 percent of the men.

Inconclusive at best, the polls' focus on Ferraro gets a cautionary response from



Democratic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro did help the ticket among voters who cared about the second spot.

Former NOW President Eleanor Smeal estimated from early returns and exit polls that Ferraro boosted Mondale's female support by 10 percent, "which in a close race would have been wonderful."

Smeal, a consultant to the Democratic National Committee on the women's vote, blamed the Democratic Party strategy for the narrowed gender gap. Against the dominant notion that the party "pandered to women" in the presidential race, she asserts, "There was not a real emphasis on the women's vote, except in selecting Ferraro and then at the end of the campaign.... 'Mood-setting' was done by the president, the gender gap issues were blurred and Mondale's message amounted to 'Raise taxes.' And the gender gap is never triggered if its issues aren't in focus."

"Its issues" are chiefly economic, and since 1980 the gap widened as the economy worsened and closed as it improved. "It seems to me that 'The Year of Women' wasn't," said Steve Novak, campaign manager for Minnesota's unsuccessful Democratic Senate candidate Joan Growe, "because women responded to the perception that times are good."

Senate races.

The poor showing by women congressional candidates was not unexpected, although few predicted the returns would be so dismal. All six Senate candidates were decided underdogs, battling both strong incumbents and the public perception that their races weren't "winnable." The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) came under fire in October for favoring male candidates over women—four of the six women Senate hopefuls threatened to go public with the charge. Clearly the party's stated commitment to electing a woman to the Senate ran square into its goal of narrowing the Republicans' control there, and with scarce resources the committee

banked on the better-positioned men.

But Growe, who became a DSCC priority in September, when the party jumped in with money, consultation and fundraising assistance, was expected to do better than her 57-43 percent loss to incumbent Sen. Rudy Boschwitz. Interestingly, she may have been undermined by the change in her campaign's fortunes. Its well-funded 11th-hour advertising hit Boschwitz hard on his failure to release his income tax returns and potential conflict of interest involving the millionaire's Plywood Minnesota business.

Boschwitz responded by attacking the campaign's new negative thrust, and the incumbent's argument seemed to carry with state media and voters. Growe's own polls found that the negative image especially hurt her support among younger women, who had been her staunchest supporters. The gender gap, which had reached as high as 20 percent in campaign polls, dropped to 11 percent and most women favored Boschwitz.

Women won a Senate seat for Illinois Democrat Paul Simon: they gave him 55 percent of their votes, while men favored Charles Percy 48 to 46 percent.

The other five Senate candidates—Maine's Libby Mitchell, New Mexico's Judy Pratt, Colorado's Nancy Dick, Oregon's Margie Hendriksen and Edythe Harrison of Virginia—lost by even larger margins. All, to greater and lesser extents, blamed the national party for not putting enough money into their races; all acknowledged from the outset that they'd wound up the Democratic nominee because more prominent male politicians sized up the Republican incumbents and found them invincible. "From the beginning the word on the street was that 'these women are sacrificial lambs,'" said Ann Beaudry, a fundraiser for Maine's Libby Mitchell.

Democratic women were expected to fare better in U.S. House races, where

most faced weaker incumbents than the senators women challenged and three sought open seats, rare good fortune for women congressional hopefuls. New Hampshire's Dudley Dudley, seeking the seat Norman D'Amours gave up to challenge Republican incumbent Sen. Gordon Humphrey, was swept by the Republican tide that defeated D'Amours and other state Democrats.

In Salem, Oregon, Ruth McFarland lost her second try to unseat conservative Republican Denny Smith. Jane Wells Schooley lost narrowly to Don Ritter (R-PA) after surviving a tough May primary.

Of the four most promising women House challengers, Frances Farley came closest—at press time the Utah Democrat was trailing Republican David Monson by 143 votes, and the election will be decided by overseas absentee ballots. The losing candidate is expected to ask for a recount.

Vermont's gubernatorial candidate Madeleine Kunin faced a similar cliffhanger—but she was declared the winner Wednesday. The liberal former lieutenant governor sought the seat vacated by Republican Richard Smelling, whom she challenged unsuccessfully in 1980.

Perhaps the best news for women was Harriett Woods' successful bid to become Missouri's lieutenant governor. Woods' 1982 Senate race became a symbol for Democratic women—discouraged from running by state and national party leaders, Woods battled both the party and incumbent Sen. John Danforth and came within 2 percent of beating him. This year she was the only Missouri Democrat to win statewide election.

The failure of even strong women candidates to win House seats has to be considered in the context of the Democrats' House fortunes—losing 14 seats, the party was hard put to keep districts it held and ousted no Republican incumbents. Fouhy of the Women's Campaign Fund thinks 1986 will be a better year for women, especially Democratic women.

But that's contingent on women getting more shots at open seats and weak incumbents. The Women's Campaign Fund recently released a study of House races that showed women candidates are hampered not by their gender, but by their challenger status. That has encouraged some people to believe that sexism is on the wane in congressional politics. But

Will the party's appeal to women be its scapegoat?

given that so few women hold House seats—and no Democratic women sit in the Senate—women candidates are mostly going to be challengers, and thus at a serious disadvantage. Arguing otherwise is like saying women workers make 60 percent of what men do not because they are women, but because they're in lower-paying jobs.

The gender gap was supposed to be the ticket out of the political ghetto of unwinnable races for Democratic women. In exchange for the party's new success with women, it was hoped, the Democrats would give women candidates better support and a shot at open seats. The disappointing women's vote has people worried about the conclusions party leaders and political analysts will draw when they survey this year's damage.

"It's time to look at your constituencies when you're looking for what went wrong, but not when you're shaping general campaign themes," Smeal said wryly. "They campaigned for the white male vote and the ethnic vote, except for at the very end. I think they took the women's vote for granted."

The danger is that the Democrats, hemorrhaging white votes in the South and blue-collar votes elsewhere, are unlikely to worry very much about whether Smeal is right.

DECISION

84

women leaders. There's no way, for instance, to tell if Reagan voters who professed aversion to Ferraro would have voted for Reagan anyway. "We're desperately trying to prevent the impression" that Ferraro cost Mondale votes, says Beth Fouhy of the Women's Campaign Fund.

But Ferraro, and the feminists who backed her selection, were in the unenviable position of having to win Mondale the election in order to stave off criticism of his vice-presidential choice.

IN THE WORLD



After her assassination, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's body lies in state in New Delhi.

INDIA

Gandhi's son faces pressing problems

By Dilip Hiro

LONDON

INDIRA GANDHI IS DEAD—LONG live the Gandhis. This, in short, is the message from Delhi. The fate of India has become intertwined with an upper-class, Brahminical dynasty of Nehru-Gandhi. Except for five intermittent years, since its independence in 1947 the world's largest democracy and the second most populous nation has been ruled by Jawharlal Nehru and his only daughter Indira, who married Feroze Gandhi.

The presence of more than 100 foreign dignitaries at Indira Gandhi's funeral showed the high esteem in which she was held abroad and the rising importance of India. In March of 1983 she became the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, a position that will now pass on to the new prime minister, her son Rajiv Gandhi.

Ever since the Non-Aligned Movement was formally founded by Nehru, Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt and Josep Tito of Yugoslavia in 1961, Washington has viewed it with suspicion and hostility, arguing that the Movement was neutral against the West, particularly the U.S. More recently, American policymakers have frowned upon Indira Gandhi's warm relations with the Kremlin and her refusal to publicly condemn the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.

Washington never forgave Gandhi for signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. It required both countries not to join any military alliance against each other and to enter into "mutual consultations" in case of an attack on either party while taking "appropriate measures to ensure peace (Left) Gandhi with her father, Jawharlal Nehru, and (right) Gandhi and son Rajiv.

and the security of their countries."

This treaty was signed against the background of many years of Indo-Soviet cooperation in the assembly and manufacture of such sophisticated Soviet weapons as advanced combat aircraft and heavy tanks. Military cooperation between Delhi and Moscow arose out of India's decision in the mid-'50s to become self-sufficient in weapons production. Having decided in the mid-'50s to achieve self-sufficiency in arms manufacture, the Indian government approached Western companies for technical know-how, but it got nowhere. Only then did Delhi turn to the Kremlin. It found the Soviets willing to provide licenses to assemble and man-

ufacture sophisticated weapons. Today, India produces MiG-19s under license and is preparing to manufacture MiG-23s.

The Soviets have built up military ties with India despite the fact that the ruling Congress Party is a bourgeois organization and the Indian economy is capitalist. "All of agriculture [in India] is private, and all small industry and a considerable part of medium and large industry," Indira Gandhi said in a February 1982 interview with *U.S. News & World Report*. "We haven't gone anywhere near really close to true socialism." The private sector produces 87 percent of India's GNP.

Having adopted state planning in the early '50s, the Indian government invested huge sums in power plants, irrigation dams, roads, heavy industry and communications in order to aid private agriculture and industry to expand rapidly. But the results have been disappointing. The growth rate of the GNP fell from 1.8 percent during 1951-60 to 1.1 percent in 1971-80.

The relentless logic of the growth of capitalism has prevailed—that is, maldistribution of income has been rising. Over the past generation the share of the top 10

percent of the population has increased from 28 percent of the GNP to 37 percent, while the share of the bottom 40 percent has declined from 20 percent to 15. At present, a little more than half of all rural Indians and nearly two-fifths of all urban Indians live below the [official] poverty line. And the trend is toward greater mass impoverishment.

Since the Congress Party—led first by Nehru and then Indira Gandhi—has been in power since independence, except for three years, the responsibility for the present situation must lie with it.

On paper, the Congress stands for "socialism" and for "abolition of poverty." But in practice its election campaigns are financed by big business houses, and its policies by and large benefit the upper-middle and upper classes. Ritual tributes to socialism are necessary in a country where every adult has a vote and most voters are poor.

The Congress Party's basic dilemma has been how to pose as the party of the poor to win popular vote while pursuing policies that primarily benefit the higher strata of society. When this predicament became acute in the mid-'70s—and coincided with a threat to Gandhi's future due to her conviction on charges of electoral malpractices—the Indian prime minister declared a "state of emergency" in June 1975.

It lasted 21 months. The Gandhi administration arrested 125,000 opposition members, banned strikes, censored the press and forced sterilization on hundreds of thousands of poor Indians. Not surprisingly, when elections were held on January 1977, Indira Gandhi and her party lost.

But the Janata Party—composed of five opposition groups—that won power in Delhi failed to function as a coherent government. This paved the way for Indira Gandhi's return three years later.

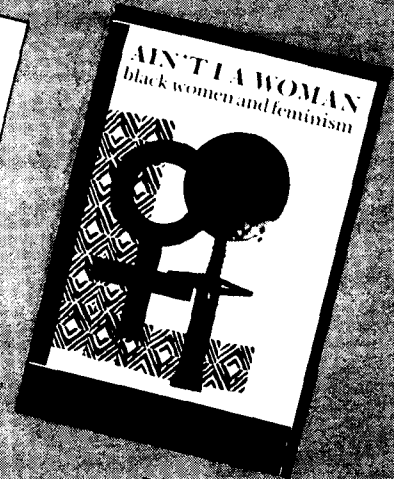
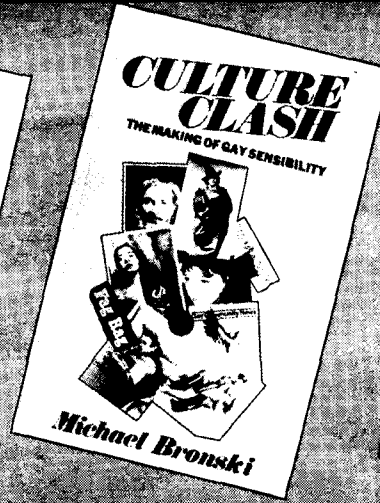
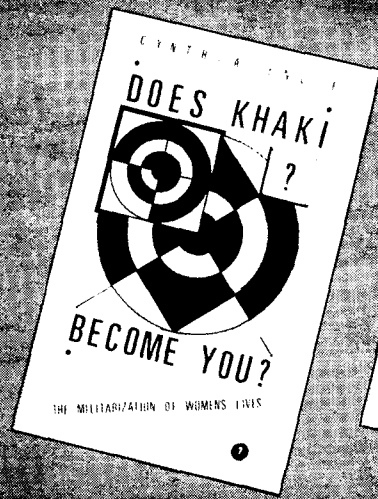
Although chastened by her earlier defeat, she once again acted in an authoritarian manner. Gandhi set out to destabilize and overthrow the non-Congress ministries then in power in many of the 22 state capitals. Some of them belonged to regional parties that derive their popular appeal either on the basis of local language or such minority religions as Sikhism. The Akali Party in the north-western state of Punjab is one Sikh

Continued on page 16

He must tackle regionalism as well as the widening gap between the haves and the have nots.



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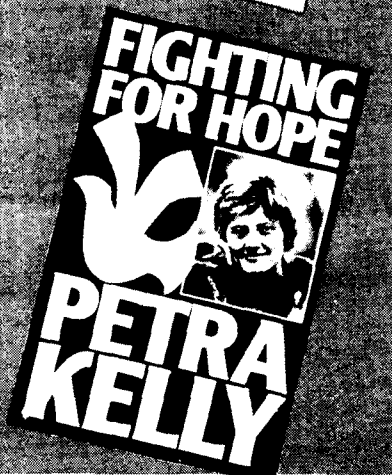
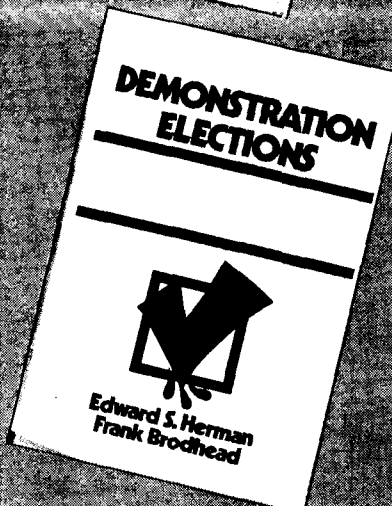
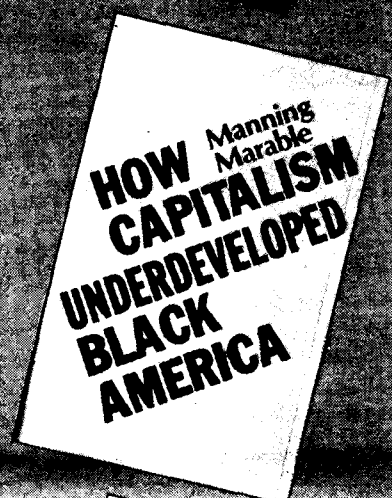
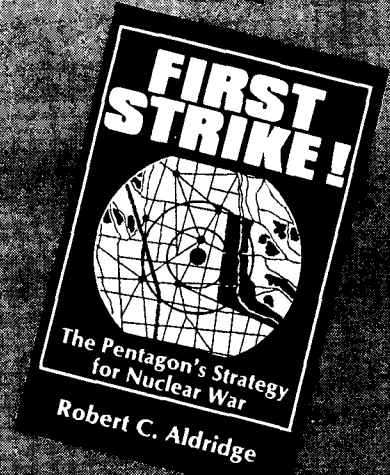
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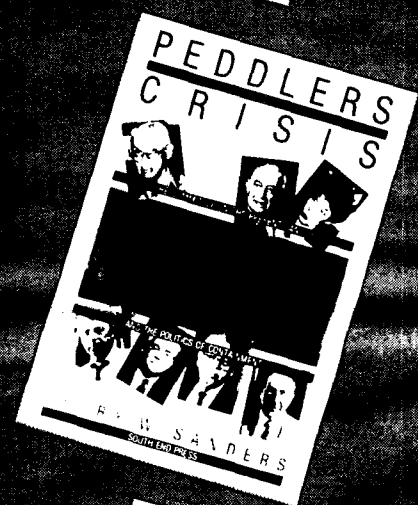
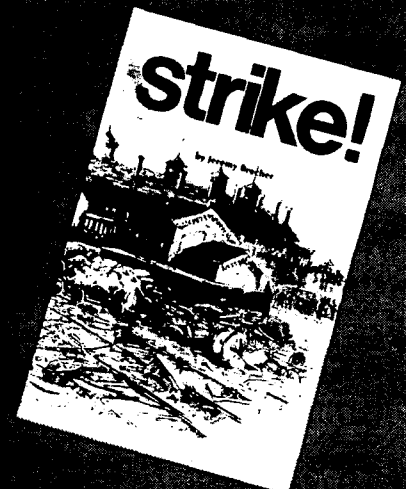
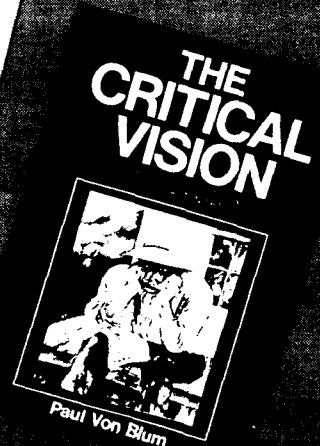
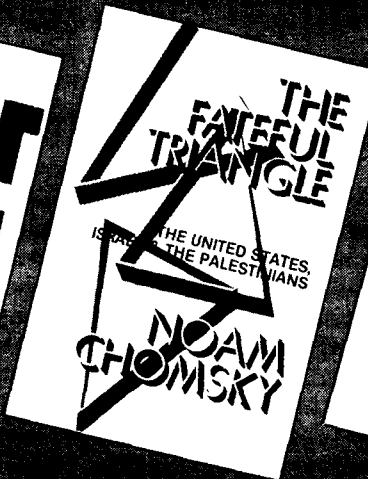
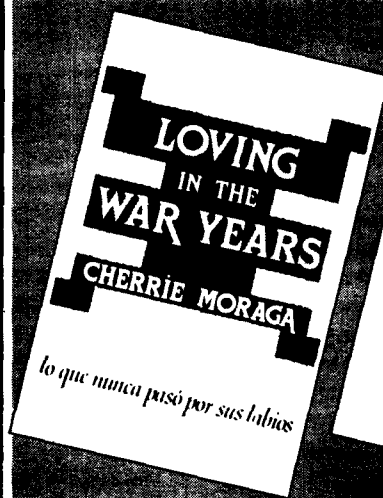
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NICARAGUA

High turnout affirms FSLN support

By Chris Norton

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

ON NOVEMBER 4, 82 PERCENT of the eligible voters went to the polls in Nicaragua. It was a massive show of support for the revolutionary Sandinista government as almost 70 percent of the votes were cast for the FSLN.

Many Nicaraguans, young and old alike, voted for the first time, saying that under former dictator Anastasio Somoza voting was pointless. "Whether you voted or not [under Somoza] it was the same. You knew who would win. I never wanted to have anything to do with it," said one 30-year-old office worker who voted for the FSLN. "The system was corrupt. The election officials were always drunk and there were two lines—one to vote and the other in which you picked up a tamale and a shot of rum for five *cordobas* for voting. They said the voting was secret, but it really wasn't. These elections are the first free elections we've had."

"Seriousness, pride, dignity," were some of the words observers used to describe how Nicaraguans approached the election. Polling officials paid scrupulous attention to the electoral procedures of what was to prove an historic day for Nicaragua—the first honest election and the first step in the institutionalization of the revolution. There were few reports of voting irregularities and only a handful of reports of local neighborhood committees pressuring people to vote by threatening to withhold their ration cards.

People, especially Sandinista supporters, queued up as the polls opened at 7:00 a.m. Then they were handed two ballots—one for president and vice president and the other for representatives to the 90-member Constituent Assembly.

They went behind a curtain and had two minutes to choose among the seven parties, which ranged from the ultra-left (the Popular Action Movement, Marxist-Leninist, and the Communist Party of Nicaragua) to the moderate right (the Conservative Democratic, the Liberal Independent and the Popular Social Christian parties).

The Liberal Independent Party (PLI)—which before the election had announced it was withdrawing but had delayed handing in its formal notice and thus appeared on the ballot—won about 10 percent of the vote. The party is now seriously split, with the vice-presidential candidate and most of the base now disagreeing with PLI head Virgilio Godoy's decision to withdraw. And at this writing, the PLI had not yet decided if it would accept any seats in the Assembly.

Similarly, the secretary general of the traditional opposition party of Somoza, the Conservative Democratic Party, tried to withdraw the party but was outmaneuvered at the party convention. And the party stayed in the race and won 13.5 percent of the vote, coming in second behind the FSLN. Fourth place went to the Popular Social Christian Party, which got about 6 percent of the vote. The three parties to the left of the FSLN all got less than 2 percent of the vote, demonstrating a lack of support that surprised some observers here.

The fact that the elections were more a referendum on five years of Sandinista rule than a real contest of power caused some observers—especially the Reagan administration—to charge that they were a farce. There is no denying the FSLN hegemony in the state and in all affairs of social life. But the FSLN did open up uncensored airtime to the opposition parties and paid for part of their expenses.

Basically, the FSLN was unassailable because in addition to being a political party, the FSLN is the social movement that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship and made a revolution—a revolution that most Nicaraguans support despite economic difficulties and a U.S.-financed war. Many Nicaraguans view the other political parties as having a history of jockeying to represent different sectors of the upper class. In contrast, they believe that the Sandinistas are the party that address the interests of the other classes.

Although U.S. officials said the ab-

standard of living has declined under the Sandinistas.

Despite being presented by much of the U.S. press as having wide support, Cruz, who has spent much of the last 20 years working as an economist in Washington, has little support in Nicaragua and is not well known in the countryside.

In contrast, the support for the Sandinistas is striking. If the Reagan administration was counting on the war of attrition, caused by both the economic blockade and the mercenary war, to weaken public support for the Sandinistas, they appear to have ignored one crucial factor—a new feeling of pride and dignity that the revolution has given many Nicaraguans. What the Sandinistas offer is "austerity, *gallo pinto* [the Nicaraguan rice and bean staple] and national dignity," says Fabier Gorontiaiga, an economist who heads the Institute of Social and Economic Investigation in Managua.



Nicaraguan soldiers stand in line waiting to vote in the November 4 elections.

stention of the U.S.-backed candidate, Arturo Cruz, representing the Democratic Coordinator, made the election illegitimate, many Nicaraguans didn't seem too bothered that Cruz didn't run.

"The posture of Cruz is clear—he means a return to the past. But the revolution is irreversible," said a 32-year-old officer worker who said she voted for the FSLN because they made the revolution. "The people will show that [Cruz] doesn't signify anything in Nicaragua."

Cruz' chief support is among the wealthy growers and the businessmen in the private sector association COSEP, as well as the three parties and two small labor federations that comprise the Democratic Coordinator. Cruz also has support in the small middle class, whose

Despite the Sandinistas' win, things remain unsettled. Many of these questions—the new rules of the game—will be debated in the ongoing national dialog meetings that were initiated by the six parties running against the FSLN in the election. While national unity is a Sandinista goal, President-elect Daniel Ortega made clear the day after the election that the national dialog meeting will not be a substitute for the Constituent Assembly, where the opposition party will have the smaller voice. But Ortega did promise to make every effort to maintain the political liberties and the political space that had opened up during the campaign, specifically saying that the press would be censored only on military matters.

Censorship.

On July 19 press censorship was officially lifted for the electoral campaign; only military reporting remained restricted. Since the 1979 revolution, the fiercely anti-Sandinista newspaper *La Prensa* always had found ways to attack the Sandinistas, but with the further loosening of censorship those attacks intensified.

La Prensa became the chief vehicle for Cruz, who in mid-summer made a grand return just in time to refuse to register for the elections. He appeared frequently on

the front page of *La Prensa*, which also ran an eight-part series by Cruz in which he described how the Sandinistas had led the country down the road to ruin and to Communist domination.

Throughout the electoral campaign,

War, said one official, demands a hierarchical situation different from the grass-roots democracy the Sandinistas are trying to build.

La Prensa—which speaks for the U.S., the Coordinator and the conservative Catholic Church hierarchy—attacked the election. A typical headline read "Elections don't have support," and the accompanying article quoted Enrique Bonanos, the head of COSEP and the man named by the *New York Times* as one of the CIA's contacts in the Coordinator.

The week before the election *La Prensa* ran several articles featuring statements by the conservative Bishop Pablo Vega. One statement read, "Nicaraguans were trapped between repressive mechanisms of manipulation and force."

La Prensa, supporting a position of abstention, did not cover the campaigns of the parties opposing the Sandinistas, naming those parties that chose to participate in the elections as collaborators with the FSLN.

But when the Liberal Independent Party announced that it was withdrawing, *La Prensa* started writing about the PLI again. And when the Conservative Democrats argued at their convention about whether to stay in the elections, *La Prensa* ran front-page stories covering the party leader who wanted to pull out.

La Prensa's headline the day after the election read, "Voting with great apathy." On election day it quoted COS-

Continued on page 15

NICARAGUA

By Sergio Ramirez

LIKE THE REST OF CENTRAL America, Nicaragua has been subordinate to the United States, almost since the U.S. emerged as a nation and traded its original project of freedom and democracy for Manifest Destiny.

Our geographic proximity—and the territorial opportunities we offered for providing a course for an interoceanic canal—put Nicaragua in the geopolitical and military sights of successive North American administrations. This proximity and the insatiable thirst for domination encouraged by the imperial idea that the U.S. was meant to perpetually expand its borders have created a fundamental historical contradiction. In order to survive as a nation, Nicaragua has struggled for decades against the imperial ambitions of the U.S.—from 1855, when we were invaded by the first filibusters, until 1979, when the Revolution proclaimed true national independence, by way of the actions of General Sandino against intervention in 1927, who organized with arms in hand the ideological principles of this secular struggle, a struggle of all Latin America that we are now waging once more in this small but well-fortified trench.

Since this is also a political and ideological struggle, and the propagandistic imperial arguments only attempt to mask and justify military aggression armed, organized, directed and financed by the Reagan administration, it's worth examining some of the fallacies intoned like songs of death and treachery against our right to independence, and by the light of our reason—which is the reason of a poor people struggling for its national identity against the recurrent attacks of Manifest Destiny—discern the pattern of those lies and sophistries so often repeated:

1. *The Sandinistas' grave mistake in trying to export their revolution.*

Throughout history revolutions have been exportable, if we care to use this mercantile term in speaking of the dynamic whereby ideas tend to circulate across frontiers. There never would have been a French Revolution without the revolution of the 13 North American colonies. Thomas Jefferson's ideas would not have existed without the inspiration of the French encyclopedists. Gen. Lafayette would not have gone from France to fight in the fields of Virginia if he hadn't believed that revolutions have no borders, nor would Benjamin Franklin have spent so many years conspiring in European courts if he hadn't believed his American Revolution was exportable.

The revolution that got the U.S. started as a nation has been the most exported revolution in modern history, and one that used the most imported ideological elements to establish the basis of its thinking, its war of liberation and its new laws.

Faced with the absolutism of the Spanish monarchs in Spanish America, a colonialist absolutism just like that England exercised over its American colonies, our Creole liberators found the most attractive and enlightened formulas for throwing off the colonial yoke in the north: the example of a bloody and relentless war waged by people determined to replace a colonial regime with a new political and social order; the crystallization of European utopian ideas of democracy, which

for the first time would be put to the practical test in the New World—a promised land for those philosophical dreams that until then had been so extravagant—a constitutional government with checks and balances. All these were extremist and subversive concepts for the monarchic order, which as they spread clandestinely through Spanish America provoked persecutions, imprisonments and exiles. To read James Madison in those times was a crime of high treason, just as today in Guatemala or El Salvador reading Marx can cost you your life.

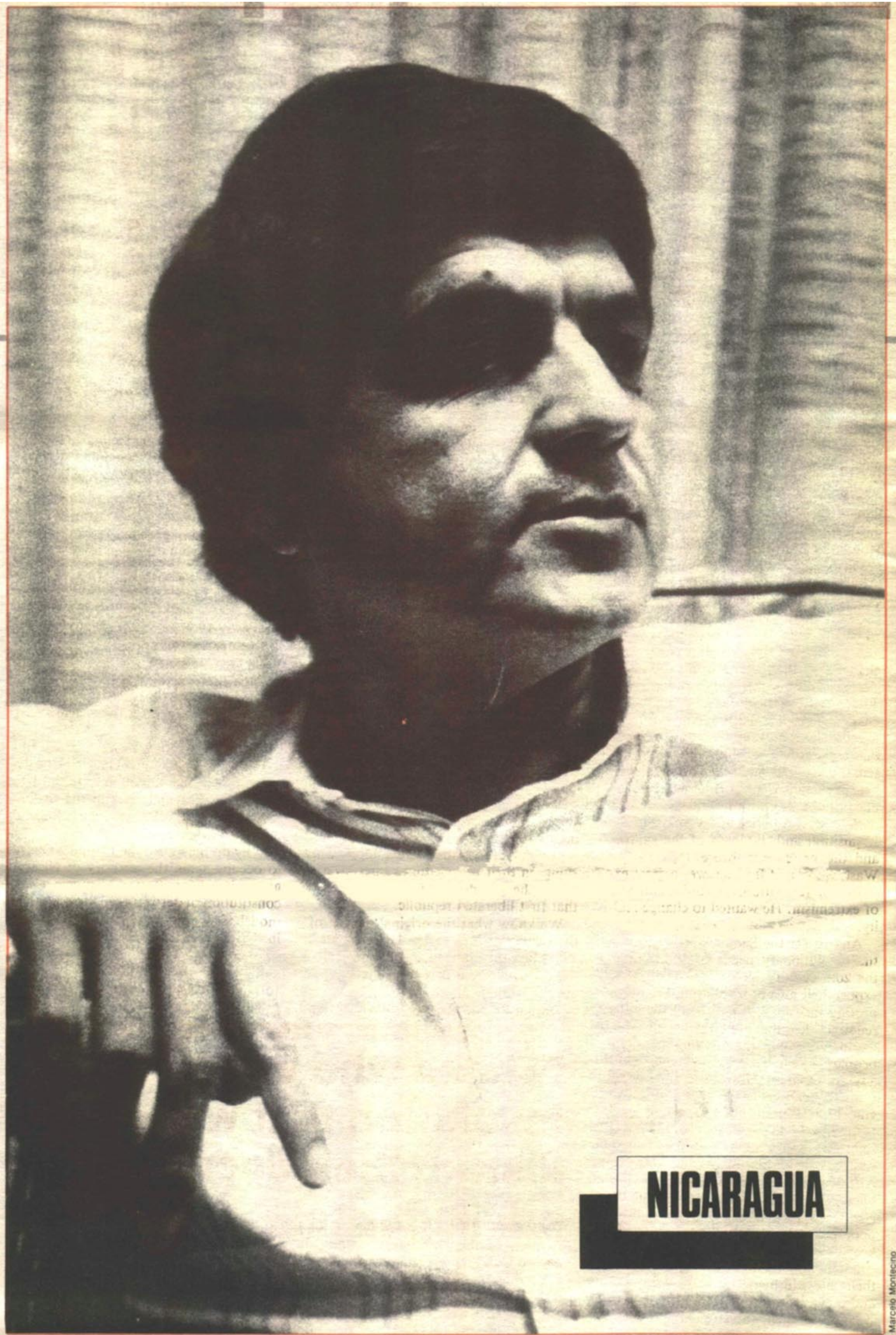
The constitution of the new United States and the new ideas that inspired it traveled by muleback through Central America like contraband, and that emerging republic directed by radical fanatics—extremist exporters of revolutions who believed only in their own model and rejected any other that stood in their way—represented a threat to the internal security and strategic interests of Spain's great New World colonial empire, which was beginning to crack. In 1823, with Central American independence already

won, the first federal constitution voted to secure the ephemeral dream of a united Morazan-inspired Central America began word for word as did the constitution edited by Madison in 1787. The U.S. was exporting a model then, and exporting the bloody example that so profound a change could not be carried forward without guns, without crushing the enemy militarily and without emulating the minutemen—guerrilla fighters just as brave as the Salvadorans of the FMLN. Faced with the insurgency of a new order based on new ideas, necessarily subversive, the old order and the old ideas were destroyed in war and hundreds of thousands of counterrevolutionary Tories left in a mass exodus for Canada. Revolutions always produce an exodus.

The first armed revolution on this continent took place in the U.S., which exported its revolution to Spanish America. No matter what the Crown did to suppress the clandestine ideas that quickly and secretly circulated through the viceroyship of Guatemala and Nueva Granada, they couldn't be stopped from stick-

ing in the minds of thousands of barefoot, hungry and poverty-stricken extremists trafficking in books and pamphlets where those incendiary speeches and subversive laws were printed. But they also dealt in rifles and ammunition to impose those ideas by force of arms, since they already had the force of reason. And as Bolivar acknowledged in his speech at Angostura, they never stopped seeking and accepting weapons needed to assure victories of their liberating army: "Our army was lacking military elements: it has always been unarmed...now the soldiers of independence are not only armed with justice, but also with force.... We owe such great advantages to the limitless liberality of certain generous foreigners who have seen humanity suffering and the cause of reason going under, and have not stood by as quiet spectators but have flown with their protective aid.... These friends of humanity are the guardian spirits of America...."

Not for Jefferson, nor Washington, nor Bolivar, nor Morazan would it have been possible in those formative days of a



NICARAGUA

Marcelo Montecino

The revolution as Nicaragua's new vice president sees it

new world of a continent in revolution to keep their revolutions from being exported. They weren't dealing in deceptions, for the sake of imposing models by force, but conducting a historic crusade of radical change that was burying the old colonial world.

Morazan, as the ideologue of the great dream of a federal Central American republic, never thought in provincial terms nor believed his liberalism stopped at the Honduran border. On the contrary, his political and military movement, the most formidable known in 19th-century Central America, opened the way for the rise of a great revolutionary party in the whole region. It opposed ideas with ideas, and carried forward its concept of change with the force of arms; the struggle at that time was not between Hondurans and Salvadorans, or between Guatemalans and Nicaraguans, but between liberals and reactionaries, between that era's armed revolutionaries and obscurantist clerics and feudal landowners, between a new Central America that was opening the way with new ideas, and the dark Central America of the priests of the Inquisition and the lords of the gallows and the knife. And Morazan, just like Washington and Bolivar, was a great exporter of revolution, of subversion and of extremism. He wanted to change reality.

And so for the Sandinistas—repeating the revolutionary deeds of Morazan in the 20th century—it's impossible not to export their idea of revolution. We're exporting new ideas, ideas of change and renewal, ideas that are establishing a new world. We export the fact that an armed people can, when it decides to, overthrow a tyranny and establish a new world on its ruins. We export the news that in Nicaragua the revolution has brought literacy, land reform, the eradication of polio, the right to life and hope. How can we prevent peasants in some other Central American country from hearing, from knowing, from understanding that in Nicaragua land is being given to other poor peasants like them? How can we keep them from realizing that here children are being vaccinated, while theirs are still dying from gastroenteritis and polio?

Now, as then, the struggle is not between Nicaraguans and Hondurans, but between workers and bosses, between new people and ghosts of the past, between those who are fighting for a better order and those attempting forever to sustain the worse order.

In this sense, we are exporting our revolution.

2. The Sandinistas have betrayed their revolution.

The original project of the revolution in the U.S. began to be betrayed soon enough. James Madison himself, father of the American Constitution, feared by 1829 that the perpetual expansion of the new nation controlled by manufacturers and merchants would finish off the experiment in republican government.

Madison's fears soon became Manifest Destiny. And America in revolution, the continent lit by the fires of change, turned into the America of above and the America of below, oppressors and oppressed, despoilers and dispossessed, expansionists and the surrounded. Then the children of Washington and Jefferson expropriated from us not only the huge territories of Mexico, in that first great

dominating thrust, but even the name America. From that time on the dream of liberty and justice has been a hegemonic nightmare. The United States of 1898 were no longer the United States of 1776. They left behind their original project of revolution and began an expansionist counterrevolution that swallowed Cuba and Puerto Rico and prepared to attack the entire Caribbean, including Nicaragua and Panama. They no longer acted in the name of that old republican ideal for which so many soldiers of independence spilled their blood on the snow of the battlefields, but of that imperial aberration called Manifest Destiny, an aberration over which later they would spread the wings of Panamericanism. The United States linked themselves to the rest of the continent in a shrewd manner, solely for the sake of killing the possibility of identity and solidarity among the nations that now seemed subjugated or subduable. That entire scaffolding of constitutional laws, division of powers and courts of justice began to collapse under the weight of imperial interventions, and of sordid alliances with the worst that these poor weak countries had to offer—political swindlers and obscure exploiters who slung on their presidential sashes awarded by the grandsons of the founders of that first liberated republic.

We know what the original project of the revolution was in the United States. But when they talk to us Sandinistas of the betrayal of our original project, what are they talking about?

During Ronald Reagan's 1980 election

campaign, the spokespeople of the New Right who had already taken ideological control of the Republican Party affirmed that the U.S. would never again commit the mistake of not fighting to the finish for an ally like Somoza, feeling guilty and ashamed for having abandoned him. Later they admitted preferring Somoza a thousand times over the Sandinistas. And still later they armed the old supporters of the Somoza regime, no less than the National Guard, to destroy the Sandinista revolutionary project and retake power with the weapons of counterrevolution.

As for the original project to which the U.S. government refers, it is not ours. Their project, as always, with no changes or variations, is that of the National Guard, which was created in 1927 by the U.S., supported the Yankee occupying army in 1933 and sustained the dictatorship of Somoza for nearly a half century.

The project of the U.S. is the attempt to reinstate the National Guard as the decisive power in the country, faithful to North American interests in the region, just as the army of Honduras is faithful to those interests.

Why do they want the National Guard to occupy again the territory of Nicaragua as it did for 50 years? To give us the constitution of Jefferson and the political model of George Washington? To realize in Nicaragua the American dream of 1776? That dream does not exist, but the National Guard does, thanks to the efforts of the Reagan administration.

The miracle workers of the Reagan ad-

ministration can't really think that we've betrayed the original project of our revolution because at a gut level they reject any idea of revolution. The word revolution is incompatible with their conception of the world; so that the revolution we haven't been able to complete, and which they've tried to take from us, they want to entrust to the colonels and mercenaries of Somoza's Guard, who murdered thousands of young people and peasants, who bombed neighborhoods and villages, who raped women and filled the jails.

But it's not only the Reaganite ideologues who say that we've betrayed the original project of our revolution; those who feel affected materially and ideologically by the revolution also say that they don't see, in its actions or direction, what they conceived as the original project; that is, their original project, whereby the winds of revolution would not disturb their privileges of so many decades, their wealth, their feudal *haciendas*, their businesses and relations with the dictatorship. It would have been impossible to make a revolution with so much sacrifice and so much blood if it could be cut off according to that standard, which is a selfish standard, hardly Christian and not at all compassionate. That idea of revolution without consequences, we have indeed betrayed.

Nevertheless, one mustn't forget that the promises of the Sandinistas were not made to the U.S., nor to the privileged groups of Nicaragua. The basic promises were made to the poorest people in the country, promises they defended with arms and with their heroism. And the original project continues with them, growing and multiplying for them, in cooperatives, in schools, in health centers, in land, in dignity and in sovereignty. There never was any other project but that.

The U.S. should return to their original project of freedom and democracy, the project of Washington, Madison and Jefferson—that beautiful project of revolution betrayed by capitalist greed, by wanton accumulation of wealth and by a mistaken expansionist will that has pushed the borders of the U.S. so often toward our own, as now once again to the Honduran border.

3. *What the Sandinistas have done is to copy a totalitarian model of revolution.* The same ideological trick that justified the invasion of these American lands, and the confiscation of our own free destiny, created also the pretext of the invader's racial superiority and the pretext of the inferiority of the invaded: if as marginal peoples we were perpetually condemned to live on the scraps and crumbs of wealth, it was because of our own historical impossibility. Yankee conquest was thus converted into an adventure of the white race, master of all initiatives and of the spirit of conquest, capable of dominating nature and creating all science and technology, the machine and unstoppable progress; we were turned not only into the conquered but into slow-witted lazy *mestizos*, deliberately illiterate due to inertia, poor due to an irremediable destiny, violent and anarchic, quarrelsome and vindictive.

God was associated with the United States, and with their prophetic mission of conquering the world. They were the people of the Second Coming, entitled to find their promised land wherever they set their borders and set about domesticating.

Continued on page 22

“Those who wanted a revolution that would not disturb their decades-old privileges talk of betrayal, and, indeed, the idea of revolution without consequences we have betrayed.”

By Stephen J. Diamond

THREE RESPECTED WATCHDOG organizations have recently charged the Nicaraguan government with violating the human and civil rights of independent trade unionists. Amnesty International, Americas Watch and the International Labor Organization (ILO) report arrests, short-term detentions, union busting and other forms of harassment of non-Sandinista trade unionists. The report of the ILO, 33 pages in length and updated during the Organization's June 1984 convention in Switzerland, is the most detailed and comprehensive. It supplements earlier reports and includes the results of a fact-finding tour of the country by an ILO representative in December 1983.

The ILO expressed "serious concern" at the large number of arrests and pointed out that measures "designed to deprive trade union leaders and members of their freedom entail a serious risk of interference in union activities" and "constitute an infringement on the principles of freedom of association."

helped build the nation's earliest union movements in the '20s. After the assassination of Sandino in 1934, unions resisted with May Day demonstrations and organizing against Somoza government price hikes. A major strike in Managua sparked the formation of the country's first trade union federation in 1936. This movement peaked with a threatened general strike in 1944, forcing Somoza to pass one of the world's most advanced protective labor codes. Though rarely enforced, the code's provisions remain a rallying cry for union organizing efforts. Government repression forced thousands into exile over the next four years,

were key to Somoza's overthrow. On the eve of a march to commemorate the assassination of publisher Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the leader of the AFL-CIO-backed Council of Trade Union Unification (CUS), Luis Medrano Flores was shot and killed while passing out leaflets in Managua. Flores had just returned from the U.S., where leaders of the International Longshoreman's Association had tentatively agreed to boycott Nicaraguan ships and goods.

Unions and the FSLN.

The enthusiasm and experience gained by labor under Somoza carried over to the

480 affiliates and 40,000 members. The ATC lost half its membership to the Cooperatives Association, which the FSLN established as a base among small farmers.

Other unions are much smaller. The Social Christian Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN), one of two unions openly opposed to the FSLN, has 21 affiliates and 2,734 members. But it recently split into pro- and anti-FSLN factions. The AFL-CIO-backed CUS, the second opposition, has 17 affiliates and 1,670 members. It, too, is divided, largely because the union supports the *contras* and their political arm, the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE). Other unions have been organized by small left parties, including the Moscow-backed Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the Nicaraguan Communist Party and the Popular Action Movement (Marxist-Leninist). Health workers, teachers, public employees and journalists have their own unions. They support the government.

Despite their large majority, the FSLN aggressively aims at unifying the union movement—at times through persuasion, at times through force. This has led to considerable tension between FSLN-led unions and independent unions.

The FSLN's union perspective became clear soon after Somoza's overthrow. Carlos Carrion, of the Frente's National Secretariat for Party Organization, stated in *Barricada*, the official FSLN newspaper, on Dec. 13, 1979: "The working class is one single class and must be organized as one. That does not mean establishing it by force, but through work designed to increase workers' consciousness of the importance of unity." The FSLN's party platform for last week's elections makes the same point: "The FSLN has prompted unity among the working class and will continue to encourage this unity in a permanent struggle against diversionary tactics, opportunism, low productivity and indiscipline. It will continue to consolidate the organization of the working class both in cities and in the countryside."

Beyond simple organizational unity, the FSLN believes that the basic union role has changed since 1979. Unions are now seen as a basic tool for increasing productivity and maintaining discipline. British author George Black, an FSLN supporter, wrote in 1981: "One of the major battles for the new trade union movement has been to convince workers that high productivity and the acceptance of austerity in private industry does not serve the interests of the factory owner but of the working class as a whole." Voluntary work brigades, overtime, weekend work drives and emulation campaigns are among strategies pursued by Sandinista unionists in cooperation with other "mass organizations" such as the neighborhood-based Sandinista Defense Committees. As Roberto Vargas, first secretary for cultural and labor affairs in Nicaragua's U.S. embassy, told this author: "The trade unionist's role is different" than in the U.S. "where they just pay their union dues and maybe go to a meeting once in a while and they are more consumers here of what the trade union officials will tell them. In Nicaragua, the trade unions have a special role of meeting priorities, which are the distribution of goods and making sure of national defense."

Dual unionism, no right to strike.

To implement their perspective, the Sandinistas practice dual unionism. Where FSLN militants face existing unions, they establish new ones and attempt, largely through persuasion, to win over members. When the Social Christian union, the CTN, led two strikes at sugar refineries in 1980, the ATC, according to George Black, "focused [its] attack [against the strike] on the CTN leadership in order to try and split it from the rank and file, simultaneously explained to CTN members that their leaders' actions could only benefit the bourgeois opposition, and that the wage rises demanded were incompatible with the country's economic recovery and the overall interests of the working class." Though unsuccessful in this instance, Sandinistas often

TRADE UNIONS

Should one class mean one union?



Nicaraguan government representatives refuses comment on many of the ILO's allegations, contend that in other situations the facts were too vague to justify response and argue that many actions taken against the independent unionists are for "counterrevolutionary" activities. But the legal advisor of the Ministry of the Interior told the ILO representative that "there may perhaps have been certain abuses on occasion."

As the Nicaraguan people celebrate the fifth anniversary of their overthrow of the dictatorial Somoza regime, they have much to celebrate. Important efforts have been made to give control of the nation's destiny to the majority of its citizens. Hunger, illiteracy and unemployment have been significantly reduced. But the country remains under incredible pressure. The U.S.-backed *contras* are systematically trying to overthrow the Sandinista regime. Justified by the Reagan administration in the name of democracy, this pressure provides those Sandinistas who support a bureaucratic road for Nicaragua with an excuse to crack down on their trade union opponents, the opposition press and national minorities.

But the full impact of this situation remains uncertain. Has the FSLN's policy toward unions moved them closer to the East European and Cuban model, where unions are under state control, often against the interests of the workers? Or has it helped to build democratic, independent unions representing the interests of the workers in negotiation with state and private employers?

The Nicaraguan union movement has had a long history of resistance. Socialists

and the labor movement moved underground, but a strike wave hit the country again in 1958. Electricians, construction workers and dock workers all formed unions. Some 16,000 workers belonged to 18 different unions. Strikers, among them teachers, railway workers, miners, hospital workers and shoe workers, demanded full enforcement of the 1945 labor code.

In the early '70s, a new series of strikes marked the beginning of the end for Somoza. Melina Nunez, currently secretary for national and international relations of the National Association of Nicaraguan Educators—the teachers' union—describes her experiences at that time:

I started working in the teachers' union in Leon in 1969. In 1970 I began to work as a trade union representative. That year there was a general strike of teachers in Nicaragua, a result of which was tremendous repression. More than 300 teachers were suspended, including me. Our union charter, the basis of our legal recognition, was pulled. Our assets were frozen and our building was taken over. The teachers' union ceased to function.

Somoza set up phony unions, called "syndicatos blancos" (white unions), to replace the legitimate teachers' organization. Repression was constant. Somoza forces assassinated 138 teachers during the '70s.

As the war between the Sandinistas and the Somoza regime broadened into a popular uprising, the Nicaraguan unionists' experience paid off. Strikes and organizing, parallel to the efforts of the FSLN, were continuous through 1978 and early 1979. A series of general strikes

The AFL-CIO-backed CUS, which supports the CONTRAS, is divided.

revolution. In July 1979, there were 133 local unions (organized by workplace) in the country, with 27,020 members. By 1984, four and a half years after the revolution, 1,103 unions had 207,391 members. This growth has largely benefited the new Sandinista unions, one industrial and one rural. The industrial Sandinista Workers Confederation (CST) has 504 affiliates and 111,498 members; the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) has

NICARAGUA

Since the victory of the Sandinistas unions have grown tenfold. But non-Sandinista unions have been under steady pressure from the FSLN.

succeed in breaking existing unions.

But Sandinista pressure on the union movement is not limited to persuasion. In September 1981, declaring a state of emergency, the government announced the establishment of a "public order and security" law. It defined as offenses against the security of the nation acts that caused concerted suspension of public or private transport, and that encourage, help or take part in the calling or continuation of a strike or a stoppage of work or the occupation of workplaces. Violations are punishable by imprisonment for up to three years. Publishing news of such job action is forbidden. This law has been shelved for the election period.

The suspension of the right to strike, and additional restrictions on the trade union movement, caused controversy within the country and among sympathetic and hostile observers of the Nicaraguan revolution. The Reagan administration and its allies in the AFL-CIO are quick to condemn this situation as evidence of an already entrenched Communist state. William Doherty, executive director of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development, long an arm of American foreign policy, argues that, "since July 19, 1979, the democratic trade union movement of Nicaragua has been subjected to an ever increasing assault on its trade union freedoms by the new Marxist-Leninist masters of that poor, unfortunate country.... The revolution, fought by a great majority of the Nicaraguan people, had the noble goal of establishing a free, democratic and pluralist society. This revolution was stolen from them by the FSLN."

Unfortunately, Sandinista sympathizers are equally quick to justify the suspension of democratic rights. The U.S.-based National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, for example, summarized the FSLN's views on strikes in 1980, prior to the imposition of the public order and security law: "In general the government does not encourage strikes because the economic ruin left behind by Somoza makes speedy reconstruction urgent. The 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation has set ambitious goals which will be hard to accomplish if widespread work stoppages develop." Others defend the government's moves by analogy with American trade union history. Marie Malliette, president of Communications Workers of America, Local 9410 in San Francisco, recently argued at a reception for Nicaraguan trade unionists that "in this country some unions do not have the right to strike, like PATCO, because of the greater interests of the state." Thus Malliette ends up defending Reagan's anti-labor policies.

Professor Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, of the United Professors of California (AFT, AFL-CIO), after a 1981 tour of Nicaragua, saw "few direct analogies between our role as trade unionists in the U.S. at the present time and the role of trade unions in Nicaragua. Rather, their role is similar to that of trade unions during World War II, when there was cooperation with the government in the war effort.... Strikes and demands are considered in terms of priorities of production and defense."

The struggle continues.

But whatever critics or supporters of the neo-Stalinist tendencies among the Sandinistas may desire, Nicaraguan workers continue to take matters into their own hands. Important battles for the future of the Nicaraguan revolution are being fought out within the Sandinista unions. Even while strikes were illegal, they took place. Perhaps the most important was at the privately-owned San Antonio sugar refinery, the nation's largest. There 6,000 workers struck for three days this past spring when their union, the CST, reached an agreement with the Ministry of Labor over the heads of rank-and-file members. Edgardo Garcia, head of Nicaragua's Coordinating Council of Unions and a member of the FSLN, recently admitted that the CST "didn't keep the workers sufficiently informed."

Since the July temporary legalization of strikes, more work stoppages have been reported. CST members at the state-owned Victoria Brewery recently occu-

pled their plant in a protest over wages. "We support and love the revolution, but we also love our children and have an obligation to support them," Julio Quintanilla, a plant dispatcher, told the *New York Times*. "They say the revolution is for the people, but it doesn't always seem that way."

CST leadership viewed these strikes as counterrevolutionary, but no arrests were made. And government and union leaders interviewed say they hope the right to strike will be permanently reinstated. Roberto Vargas contends there is ongoing debate over this within the Nicaraguan unions. Melina Nunez, of the teachers' union, says, though, that time for such "philosophical questions" does not exist. But both say they want a pluralistic union movement. Vargas argues that the Nicaraguan Coordinating Council of Trade Unions is structured "precisely" to "differentiate it from the Cuban workers.... We recognize the principle of autonomy" of unions, he says.

If Vargas is correct in assessing the aims of the FSLN—and there is much evidence to contradict him—pro-Sandinista workers such as those at the San Antonio sugar refinery and the Victory Brewery will make those aims a reality.

The democratic movement within the Sandinista unions is making it increasingly clear that the future of the Nicaraguan revolution was not decided on July 19, 1979. Yet American liberals and radicals largely ignore the democratic aspirations of rank-and-file Nicaraguan workers.

Much worse is the sad fact that the Cold War approach of the AFL-CIO has pushed its Nicaraguan affiliate into the arms of the *contras*. As a result the CUS has lost any credibility it may have earned during the overthrow of Somoza. Instead of remaining truly independent, its alliance with the CIA-backed Somocista National Guards provides encouragement to the Reagan administration and those who would choose a solution to the Central American crisis designed by the International Monetary Fund and the Pentagon. The continued effort of the Nicaraguan workers to fashion their own future requires breathing space. If American policy remains what it is, democracy within Nicaragua may, indeed, be strangled. ■

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Election

Continued from page 11

EP leader Bonanos as saying that he saw very few people voting, and the next day *La Prensa* ran pictures of soldiers in voting lines, implying that these were the only Nicaraguans who went to the polls.

One *La Prensa* piece that did get censored recently was Robert Leiken's article in the October 6 *New Republic* entitled "Nicaraguans' untold story: Sandinista corruption and violence breed bitter opposition." *La Prensa* published the first two installments without trouble, but the last one, accusing the Sandinista commandantes of personal moral decadence, was cut.

Leiken's recent article follows a *New Republic* tradition of attacking the Sandinistas. Their 1982 article by Ronald Radosh was one of the first major attacks to appear in a neo-liberal magazine.

Leiken's piece followed suit, painting a picture of the Nicaraguan people as living under the influence of Sandinista tyranny. Several political observers here interviewed by *In These Times* said they believed his article was especially dangerous because it reinforces the Reagan administration's distorted view of a restive population waiting for liberation from the yoke of Communist rule by U.S.-sponsored "freedom fighters."

The elections themselves are the best rebuttal to Leiken's picture of police-state fear. Most voters showed their support for the Sandinistas, but even those who opposed them weren't afraid to say who they were voting for and to criticize the Sandinistas openly.

As a woman stood in line to vote on

election day, she spoke to this reporter about the government's relationship with the Catholic Church. Despite her strong Catholicism, she said she was voting for the FSLN. Another man down the line overheard the conversation and angrily interjected that the Sandinistas were persecuting the Church and were against religion. He didn't appear concerned that everybody else in the line, including many of his neighbors, was listening.

In another case, this reporter spoke with a man in a bus line who violently opposed the Sandinistas, repeating time and again that there was no freedom in Nicaragua. The man turned to the person behind him, a soldier with a Soviet-made AK47, and asked him for a cigarette light, and then turned back and went on denouncing the government.

Before the elections instances of coercion—both real and imagined—were reported. Some peasants in northern Nicaragua were told that when their fingers were dipped in indelible dye when voting, people would know how they voted. The walls of a corner store owned by a family that opposes the government were painted with revolutionary slogans by neighborhood kids doing "revolutionary vigilance," according to the family. And an owner of a small hotel in Managua who was supporting Cruz said he planned to vote—a blank ballot, on a friend's recommendation—just to be on the safe side. But such cases of coercion were rare, according to several election observers.

Although some of Leiken's article is accurate, other parts are pure distortion. For example, he writes that before the revolution "even poor Nicaraguans were accustomed to beef and chicken." How he squares the land of honey under Somoza with statistics showing that two-thirds of the children were malnourished is unclear.

All studies—both internal and external—show that Nicaraguan diet has improved substantially since the revolution, especially in the countryside. It is true, however, that the current strains on the economy are affecting the food supply.

In his article, Leiken also describes the Sandinistas as a new privileged caste. "Party members shop at hard currency stores, dine at luxury restaurants, restricted to party members, and vacation at the mansions of the Somoza dynasty," he writes.

Yet more than half of the FSLN party members are in the army—hardly a privileged lifestyle. And there is only one hard currency store—called the Dollar Store—where anyone with American dollars can buy products generally unavailable in Nicaragua, such as film, electrical appliances and Rice Krispies. Rather than rewarding Leiken's "new rulers," the Dollar Store exists to pacify some of the foreigners living in Nicaragua under wartime conditions and to capture some of the hard currency Nicaragua desperately needs.

Some of the Sandinista leadership ride in Mercedes inherited from Somoza and live in fancy houses that were vacated when the owners fled Nicaragua. Yet observers interviewed here considered the lifestyle of Sandinista Party members to be one of sacrifice—more the life of a monk than a hedonist.

As one observer, a former U.S. ambassador to Bolivia, told *In These Times*, "Revolutions are never tidy. What is surprising is not that there are abuses but that there is a lack of even more abuse in the steps that the Sandinistas are taking to counter the existing abuses."

One high Sandinista official, who develops planning models that communities can implement themselves, admitted that the Sandinistas are guilty of mistakes and heavy-handed tactics at times. But she also pointed to the war, financed and directed by the U.S., as antithetical to democracy. It is stifling the "democratic flowering" she wants for Nicaragua, she said.

War, she said, demands a hierarchical situation very different from the grassroots participatory democracy she is trying to build. Unfortunately, with Reagan's landslide victory, Nicaraguans are expecting a stepped-up war, she concluded. ■

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India

Continued from page 8
stronghold.

In order to outflank the Akali Party, Gandhi propped up a comparatively unknown Sikh preacher named Sant Bhinderanwale. She succeeded in overthrowing the Akali administration. But by then Bhinderanwale had acquired a political life of his own, based on a platform of revival of fundamentalist Sikhism and separation of Sikhs from the majority Hindu community and with a goal of forming their own independent, sovereign state.

Because Rajiv Gandhi is known to have recommended the June 5-6 attack this year on the Golden Temple during which as many as 600 Sikhs were killed, he has been on the Sikh extremists hit list. And his elevation from a junior parliament member to premiership now makes him a prime target. As he leads the Congress Party campaign for the forthcoming parliamentary elections he will need unprecedentedly tight security.

By reappointing his mother's cabinet members, he is stressing continuity. But he cannot emulate the style of his predecessor even if he wants to. He lacks his mother's political knowledge and experience when she first became prime minister in 1966. Indira had grown up under the influence of her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a well-read, widely traveled intellectual and who flirted with

Marxism in the '30s. Among other things she came to share Nehru's admiration for the Soviet Union's rapid economic development after the Bolshevik Revolution.

In contrast, Rajiv studied engineering in Cambridge, England, and later became an airline pilot. He showed no interest in either everyday politics or political ideologies. It was only after the accidental death of his younger, ambitious brother Sanjay in June 1980, that he was inducted into politics.

Since then he has surrounded himself with advisors who have been business executives in multinational companies in Delhi and Bombay. They stress market research, public relations and business

The chances of success for the latest ruler from the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty appear to be slim.

school techniques in running the Congress Party. They seem unaware that 80 percent of Indians live in the countryside, and that Indian politics is in essence village politics.

Nonetheless, aided by the overwhelming sympathy that Indira Gandhi's murder has aroused in the country for Rajiv,



the Congress Party will win the parliamentary elections that must be held before mid-January.

Given the failure of the Congress Party and its leaders to sublimate traditional divisions along caste, religious and linguistic lines into class differences, popular discontent due to growing impoverishment gets dissipated into clashes based on caste, religion or language. That is well illustrated by a recent spurt in inter-religious and inter-linguistic violence.

Behind this problem lies another: dis-

tribution of power between the states and the center. Under the charisma of Nehru and the authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi, the center has grown to be far more powerful than the constitution makers had visualized. Failure to tackle genuine grievances of the states that lie outside the Hindu-speaking heartland of India has spawned regional movements.

Regionalism has both negative and positive effects. It tends to thrive on hatred of minorities. Yet at the same time it stands for preservation and enrichment of local culture. Both Punjab and Assam have powerful minorities: Hindus in Punjab and Bengali speakers in Assam.

Ultimately, these inter-group rivalries are rooted in economics. In Assam the native Assamese find themselves fighting rearguard action against further loss of land and jobs to the Bengali speakers from the adjoining Bangladesh. In Punjab—where Sikhs tend to be peasants and Hindus traders—the traditional economic conflict between the peasant and the trader-moneylender manifests itself as Sikh-Hindu strife.

Three decades of mass education in the local language has created a strong sense of local identity and renewed awareness of local tradition and culture. Thus when many fail to find a job, they tend to blame the "outsiders": those who do not share their own religion or language. This has led to a movement that advocates jobs only for the "sons of the soil."

In the coming months and years, the Rajiv Gandhi administration will tackle the pressing problems of regionalism, the lackluster performance of the economy and the widening gap between the haves and the have-nots. The chances of success for the latest and youngest ruler from the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty appears to be slim.

Dilip Hiro is the author of Inside India Today, published by Monthly Review Press, New York.

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OLDER PEOPLE OFTEN HAVE EXAGGERATED fears that the younger generation will not be able to carry out much of the work they started, and I find it curious that we baby boomers are starting to display the usual signs of foolishness of old people. We were much sillier than this young generation until the Vietnam war came along. It would be absurd if they did everything the same way we did it. Hopefully nothing so horrid as the war in Vietnam will ever strike our young people again, but if they should ever have to face a similar challenge, I am confident they will also rise to meet it.

—Paul Liebhaber
San Francisco

FUNDAMENTAL

THANKS 10 TIMES FOR REPRINTING Jim Wallis' "Our Republican High Priest" (ITT, Oct. 3). Wallis' article precisely delineated the contradictions, intellectual-moral pitfalls, and deficits in logic common to the Reagan/Fundamentalist religious world view.

More important, Wallis raised questions concerning the effects of Fundamentalist eschatological beliefs on the perspective of men and women in power (Remember Rios Montt? And James Watt?)—particularly during crises that threaten to escalate into thermonuclear war.

This is something anyone who is remotely acquainted with Fundamentalist theology/eschatology has—or should have—asked. And it is certainly something every American voter should be reflecting on.

Who do we want "behind the button" if and when a major East-West confrontation occurs? A Ronald "Fallowell" Reagan or a Fritz Mondale? I'll opt for Fritz.

—Anthony G. Payne
Dallas, Texas

TRUE PATRIOTISM

AS A LONG-TIME READER AND SUPPORTER, I strongly condemn your "New Patriotism" article (ITT, Oct. 24).

In *These Times* has been the least sectarian of left publications. On the "traditional values" of religion and the family ITT has been great. But not so on patriotism, even though Jeremy Rifkin, founder of the Peoples Bicentennial is a sponsor and articles by Joe Holland appear occasionally. As one who has called for left-oriented patriotism for 30 years, and in 1978 founded the New Patriot Alliance, I find it easier to get published in conservative papers than in ITT.

The present anomalous political situation, with millions disagreeing with his domestic and foreign and military policies nevertheless voting for Reagan for "patriotic" reasons, should cause some serious ideological soul-searching for the whole spectrum of the American left.

I have no argument with the facts Salim Muwakkil presented in the article, nor with Worrill or others about what Reagan's new jingoism is doing (not only to blacks, but to millions of white, Hispanic and other Americans). My concern is that the tone of the article adds fuel to the fires of sectarianism, encouraging the flag-burning anti-Americanism so assiduously promoted during the Vietnam war by provocateurs of the FBI and red squads.

True patriotism is as valid a sentiment for Americans as for Nicaraguans and others of the Third World. Those who suffer most from Reagan's jingoism must respect the honest patriotic sentiments of white and other Americans and convince them of the true meaning of patriotism and love of country. *Abusus non tollit usum.* Abuse does not rule out proper use: Thomas Aquinas).

—John Rossen
Secretary, New Patriot Alliance
Chicago

VOLUNTEERS

THERE YOU GO AGAIN, PRESIDENT Reagan. As volunteers who fought against fascism in Spain in the '30s we have to take issue with some of your recent remarks. You mention as an "honorable tradition" Americans taking up arms for a cause in other countries, and you cite the Spanish Civil War in which about 3,000 fought in support of the Spanish Republic. This "honorable tradition" is used by you to encourage volunteers to become involved in Central America in the fight against the Nicaraguan government.

Let's set the record straight. The young men and women who went to Spain in the '30s were helping defend a legally elected government against its own generals and the armed forces of Hitler and Mussolini. We saw the Spanish people face practically alone the Nazi-fascist war machine and we saw also this invasion as a beginning of World War II and a threat to our own country. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade shared what it had with the Spanish people—our food, our medical supplies, our humanity—and for nearly half of us, our lives. There was never any question of how the Spanish people felt about us, and it was well demonstrated when the Internationals marched through Barcelona in a farewell parade. Hundreds of thousands of people defied the threats of an air raid to shower us with flowers, tears and kisses.

News sources quote you as saying, "I would say that the individuals who went there were, in the opinion of most Americans, fighting on the wrong side." We did not have the blessings of our government, and we faced possible re-creations as a result of our actions, but the polls of the day showed a clear majority of Americans favoring the Spanish Republic. The wrong side? Which side were you on, Mr. President?

No, Mr. President, we're proud of having defended democracy in Spain and later in the U.S. Army, but don't use us as a "tradition" to justify giving the "go-ahead" for the Ku Klux Klan and others to recruit a brigade to pillage and murder with the *contras* in Nicaragua. We know of the destruction of food supplies, health clinics and day-care centers, the kidnappings, rapes and murders committed by the *contras*.

That may be a "tradition" for you, Mr. President. It certainly is not for us and most of the American people.

—Bob Reed, Elias Schultz
Max Farrar and Frank E. Alexander
Seattle

CHANGE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

THANKS FOR DIANA JOHNSTONE'S review of *Green Politics* (ITT, Oct. 17) by Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak. It was timely as we close another election year in which politics that respect community and the earth have been silenced by apostles of profits and "growth."

Johnstone's critique of the author's political naivete and biases reinforced my own disappointment when I read the book. Their talismanic invocation of "holism" is a poor substitute for political strategy. Their notion that a band of *philosophes* can alter the content of American politics is charmingly implausible.

But we do desperately need a strong political group in this country that speaks to the genuinely popular and conservative (ecological and community-oriented) concerns espoused by the Greens. We need to expand on the third party course pioneered by the Progressive Party and now the Citizens Party, but we must change the electoral winner-take-all system of representation if third, fourth or fifth party alternatives are not to be quixotic self-delusions.

Such change is possible. The goal is increased pluralism, already a positive

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

word in current political language. And the purposes of pluralism are central and hallowed American ideals: to maximize representation of each individual's voice and to protect minorities from the tyranny of the establishment. For this cause, one could secure support from John Anderson voters, Citizens Party voters, Libertarians and, through grassroots pressure, elected officials. Most Americans feel excluded and abused by the current system and would hear the case for electoral reform sympathetically.

ITT, *The Nation* and *The Progressive* should discuss and press such an initiative. I voted for Mondale to buy us a little time, but the Democratic Party never will oppose emphatically corporate capitalism, which literally is destroying the world and its people.

Only a multi-party system could bring some intelligibility to American political discourse and create a chance that genuinely pro life concerns will be represented in government.

—Eugene Narrett
Brookline, Mass.

THE REAL ARTICLE

ERIC LEE'S PUFF FOR MAPAM (ITT, Oct. 10) is typical "democratic socialist" monkeychatter: a "new party of the democratic left, with Mapam and the Kibbutz Artzi at its core, represents the last, best hope of the Israeli left."

Except that Mapam was in the government that brought South Africa's prime minister to Israel in 1976, and it was part of the government that the London *Times* exposed in 1977 as a systematic torture regime. These characters were "realists." Their cabinet partners, the Labor Party, were the "lesser evil," and what democratic socialist would let a South African alliance or torture get in the way of bundling up with a certified lesser evil?

More. Like Labor and the Likud,

Mapam has its Uncle Tom Arab in its Knesset delegation. But Kibbutz Artzi has rejected every Arab membership application it has ever received. Additionally, Peace Now, in which Mapam is clearly the dominant organizational force, openly refuses to recruit Arabs. Now it is well understood that any peace movement that refuses to recruit 17 percent of the citizenry is doomed to defeat, but that isn't the main point. The crucial fact is it is racist.

Mapam doesn't believe that Israel should annex the West Bank because that would convert the country into a *de facto* bi-national state. They want the Arabs and Jews to have separate but equal states, and within their state the Arab minority would have equality, but only within its place, i.e., no Arabs in the kibbutzim. And, of course, the minority would be segregated in their own separate but equal peace movement.

For genuine socialists, it is axiomatic that they must recruit the oppressed nationality within their society, but this Mapam-Artzi will never do. Far from a hope, it is an obstacle to the development of a revolutionary movement, like all "democratic socialists" everywhere.

—Lenni Brenner
New York

NOT FIRST

IN HER ARTICLE "SIXTOMANIA" (ITT, Sept. 26), Pat Aufderheide erroneously states that "black militants" were the first target of the FBI's COINTELPRO secret political disruption operation. In fact the first target of COINTELPRO was the Communist Party, U.S.A. (1956), followed by the Socialist Workers Party (1961), white racist groups (1964), black groups including SCLC (1967) and the New Left (1968).

This point is more than trivial since it demonstrates the broad nature of the targets of repression in this country.

—Richard M. Gutman
Chicago

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Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising

By Kathleen Hall Jamieson
Oxford University Press,
505 pp., \$19.95

By Joan Walsh

In 1968 author Joe McGinniss got backstage with Richard Nixon's presidential campaign and wrote the influential *The Selling of the President: 1968*. In it McGinniss argued that the Nixon voters rejected in the 1960 presidential race and 1962 California Senate campaign—the Nixon of McCarthyism, the Checkers speech and that suspicious five o'clock shadow—had been re-packaged and sold to an unsuspecting electorate with Madison Avenue methods more befitting a new brand of deodorant than a new president.

Since then analysis of political advertising has become a staple of campaign coverage, a development many editors and reporters have credited to McGinniss' book. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, in her new book *Packaging the Presidency*, thinks that the attention to advertising McGinniss generated is fine, but the political cynicism his book fostered is not. *Packaging the Presidency* attempts to counter the notion that advertising can "sell" voters a president, while historically assessing its incontrovertible significance to presidential campaigns, especially in the age of television.

It's a difficult balancing act, since Jamieson herself acknowledges that advertising may be a voter's only contact with the candidates' campaign stands, and that 30 to 60-second spots at best simplify complex issues. And most of us are predisposed to believe that American voters have been brainwashed into their political choices by high-paid masters of manipulation, rather than accept that Ronald Reagan's commercials, for instance, simply communicated his message to voters who examined and agreed with it.

Take one of the campaign's best Doonesbury strips, which spoofed Reagan's "Morning in America" ads with a fictional commercial contrasting Reagan's "Morning in America" ads with Mondale's. In Reagan's, the milkman arrives, families pray, kids leave for school and mother calls out, "Billy, you forgot your mittens." In Mondale's, milk costs \$5 a quart, Billy is snorting coke and a mother leaving the house announces, "I'm off for my abortion, dear." It was very funny, playing on our sense that such a commercial "might as well have" aired. But it didn't.

Jamieson scrutinizes the advertising used in the eight presidential campaigns between 1952 and 1980. Yet she starts even farther back, using William Henry Harrison's 1840 campaign as an example of how, even before the advent of radio, TV and mass circulation newspapers, candidates used imagery and rhetoric to highlight their strengths and mask their weaknesses. Harrison's campaign slogan, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" substituted Tippecanoe, the site where Harrison led an 1811 battle against Shawnee Indians, for the candidate's name, playing up his military record to obscure questions about his poor health. A log cabin was his symbol, creating a rustic, backwoods image for the upper-class governor's son who

INPRINT

CAMPAIGNS

The media is the message



Paul Cornstock

Author Kathleen Hall Jamieson argues political advertising has served democracy.

actually lived in a Georgian mansion. Harrison beat Democratic incumbent Martin Van Buren and died in office.

Today, Jamieson notes, "the counterfeited image would likely

have been exposed by Roger Mudd or Dan Rather live from the Georgian mansion. Doctors' records mysteriously would have found their way within camera range of investigative journal-

Jamieson on campaign '84

The Mondale campaign followed a classic Democratic strategy for facing a strong Republican incumbent, reminiscent of the Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey campaigns: play up Democratic issues and Democratic allegiance, play down the incumbent. What should it have done?

It's been a real problem. When you've got a candidate who's personal popularity you're not sure of, who's not a particularly effective communicator, there is a tendency to keep the candidate out of the ads. But since Watergate, you've got to know what the candidate will be like as president: you've got to establish "I'm not a Richard Nixon, I'm not a Lyndon Johnson, I won't lie to you." What's called "image advertising" is actually a valuable form because it's trying to tell you about the candidate as a human being. You can't do that unless there's some Mondale in these ads. Thus we don't know who Walter Mondale is.

But he seems to be a candidate who honestly asserts that TV doesn't work for him.

There are formats in which Mondale is very effective—small group interviews, press conference formats—in which you do

get a sense of Walter Mondale the human being. I don't know of any Mondale advertising that tried him in small groups, *cine-ma verite*, just let him forget the cameras and interact and just let him be Mondale.

Reagan's strength is that he lets you get to know him as a person, you trust him, you like him, even if you don't know how he's come to some very strange positions on issues. In part it's also what the country seems to need right now. He takes you through traumas—Vietnam, Watergate, Iran—and says this is a good country. He goes back to things that aren't controversial—the Normandy invasion. It's no accident they use that Normandy scene in the advertising—it's an extremely effective moment.

The question Mondale should have been raising in the final days was, "Is he competent?" There were real questions raised in the first debate and the closing statement of the final debate.

This was something like what Stevenson faced with Eisenhower—the health question.

But Eisenhower established he was healthy—he went to Suez, he kept campaigning, he didn't give Stevenson any evidence. After the first debate Mondale had evidence.... What Mondale should have done was bought time the last night of the campaign for a live call-in show, and say, "I'm going to take the toughest questions from around the country

ists." There lies her faith that advertising can't falsify presidential candidates: their opponents and the press are alert for outright lies in today's media-dominated campaigns. And with federal funding of presidential campaigns, neither side can significantly outbroadcast the other.

Democracy and advertising.

Jamieson starts from the premise that political advertising, especially in the broadcast media, has on balance served democracy by bringing candidates directly to voters and forcing consistency on their messages. Candidates today have a harder, though not an impossible, task telling one group of voters one message and abandoning it when addressing another.

She finds, not surprisingly, that the candidates who have the most success in framing their appeal to voters through their ads tend to win elections. But adver-

Advertising—can it sell voters a president... especially in the TV age?

tising inadequacies, she argues, have been linked to flaws in the campaign or candidate himself. Adlai Stevenson's inability to speak in short, simple sentences or keep his campaign speeches within their allotted time "raised doubts about his ability to act decisively." Gerald Ford's difficulty with crafting a single advertising theme reflected his lack of presidential direction. And Jimmy Carter, perceived as a less than competent president but a good man, lost his claim to de-

and prove I have what it takes to be president. Ronald Reagan won't do that because he doesn't command what it takes. He's going to deliver a speech, and we're going to come back on the air afterwards and poke holes in it."

Doesn't the reliance on short TV ads dilute the process?

Obviously, spot ads simplify. You can state a candidate's position, but you're not building a case. But spot advertising is the only form we will watch as an electorate. The other stuff is there—position papers, political speeches, half-hour and hour-long news and documentary shows. But how are you going to blame candidates for not giving you more when spot ads are the only thing we'll watch?

Reagan did an innovative thing earlier this year: he had a half-hour show and he road-blocked, bought all three networks and got the habitual television viewers. Lyndon LaRouche knew enough about TV to promote his half hour with spot ads. And the National Conservative Political Action Committee and the Mondale campaign used toll-free numbers with some of their ads. When you called you were asked for money, but they also asked if you wanted more information and sent it out to you. That creates mailing lists. ...Those were innovations that helped push the electorate to longer forms, which is very important.

—J.W.

gency by attacking Reagan personally.

The chapter on the 1980 election is, in some parts, the book's most persuasive; in other sections, it's the least convincing. There Jamieson makes the case that dishonesty in advertising most often backfires on the candidate advancing the falsehood. Convincingly, she blames Carter's failure to persuade voters that Reagan was a dangerous, unqualified aspirant to the presidency on his exaggerated claims about Reagan's goals and motives.

Having claimed Reagan would separate black from white, Jew from Christian, North from South, rural from urban," Carter gave Reagan's campaign the opening to simply focus on Reagan the man, who comes across on TV as unlikely to aspire to the evil Carter attributed to him. As a Hollywood producer told Carter media advisor Gerald Rafshoon, "Ronald Reagan is not a good actor. But he played in 59 movies and in all but one he played...a sincere guy. He knows how to play sincere people. And you should have known better."

Yet the Reagan phenomenon, well-encapsulated in that quote, also makes it hard to accept Jamieson's argument that "the ability to deliver televised messages artfully...has not become so central a qualification for the presidency that it has exiled candidates who lack it."

Watergate forced campaigns to a higher standard of what constitutes fair and reasonable claims, Jamieson notes, and highly visual montage ads were mostly replaced by neutral, fact-laden spots. But the Reagan campaigns have exhibited a marked inattention to fact and policy in favor of image and emotion. Ads like the Morning in America series have helped reverse the post-Watergate trend. "You want us to put poor people in these ads?" a White House official asked a skeptical *Washington Post* reporter.

On the other hand, the Mondale campaign's inability to counter Reagan's image-making bolsters Jamieson's assertion that difficulties with successful advertising reflect difficulties with articulating a political message—or even a lack of a clear political message (see accompanying interview).

Jamieson herself places two restrictions on how far her conclusions can be taken. They do not extend to congressional or local legislative races, where spending imbalances and lower levels of press scrutiny let candidates get away with a lot more distortion. And her entire thesis could be upended by the continued growth of political action committees (PACs), which can boost the amount of money spent on behalf of presidential candidates and also resort to the kind of attacks and half-truths that don't appear on the national scene. In 1980, she notes, Reagan spent just over \$18 million on political advertising, but benefited from another \$12 million spent by conservative PACs. Carter got about \$50,000 worth of comparable advertising support.

Packaging the Presidency is exhaustive, based on 75 interviews with campaign staff and advisors from the eight campaigns covered. With occasional exceptions, it succeeds in establishing a link between what voters in presidential elections see—or don't see—and what they get. But a lot of people are still going to want to believe otherwise. ■

The War at the End of the World
By Mario Vargas Llosa
Farrar Straus Giroux, 568 pp.,
\$18.95

By Pat Aufderheide

In 1893, in the Brazilian backlands, the war issuing in the millennium commenced. Or so it seemed to the thousands of religious cultists of Canudos, who had migrated to that dusty outpost from surrounding enclaves of peasant and ranching misery. To the attackers, federal troops sent to quell what seemed a rebellion against the new republic, it was to be an easy victory.

Both were wrong. It took four military campaigns (the last involving 4,000 troops), the death in combat of every last able-bodied man, woman and child in the town, and a house-by-house leveling to end it. This was not the millennium. But it was an epochal conflict.

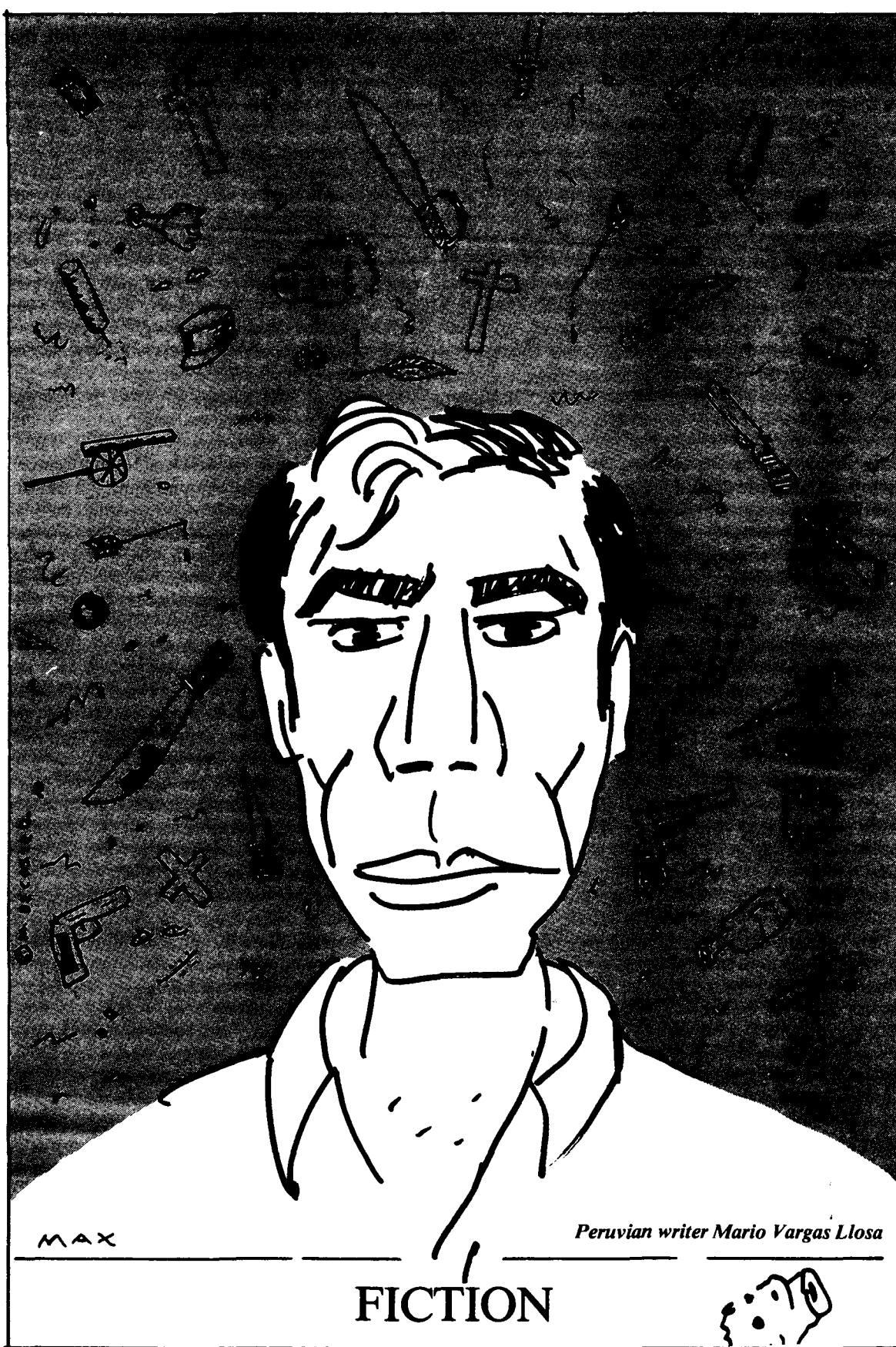
The war in Canudos made headlines for years in Brazil. It also provoked a thoughtful engineer and journalist, Euclides da Cunha, to write a classic of Brazilian literature: *Os Sertões* (translated as *Rebellion in the Backlands*). For him, the war was not just a civil-religious conflict, but a battle that went to the core of Brazilian culture. He argued, in hundreds of pages of meticulous and elegant prose, that the 1889 imposition of republican government had been a crude graft from Europe. Brazil, a mestizo nation, was hundreds of years behind "enlightened" nations. Canudos had pitted the peculiar Brazilian race, an amalgam of white, Indian and black, against the Europeanized elite, and the 19th century of the coast against the middle ages of the interior. Canudos had been a crime of genocidal proportions, in which the government had become inadvertant "mercenaries" against the people.

Da Cunha's racial notions have been superseded, although you will still find many in Brazil who argue that darker races are more primitive than whiter (but never white enough) elites. But his work still stands as a record and challenge for developing nations battling for cultural autonomy and economic survival.

Eighty years after *Os Sertões* was published, Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, internationally respected and recently known in North America for his *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter*, was captured by the drama of Canudos, for many of the same reasons da Cunha was. He too saw in it, as he said in a *Washington Post* interview, "something that has been happening in Latin American history over the 19th and 20th centuries—the total lack of communication between two sections of a society which kill each other fighting ghosts, no? Fighting fictional enemies who are invented out of fanaticism, out of religious or political or economic blindness! This kind of reciprocal incapacity of understanding what you have opposing you is probably the main problem we have to overcome in Latin America if we want to civilize our countries."

Best tradition.

The War at the End of the World is as monumental as *Os Sertões*, although time and political context give it a different cast. What for Da Cunha, influenced by the positivism and physical anthropology of his day, was science is for Vargas Llosa tragic, but changeable history. In the best tradition of Latin American liter-



Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa

Llosa's *War and Peace* of the Third World

ature, the book is both a pointed contribution to political life and a highly crafted work of art.

This novel is a kind of *War and Peace* of the Third World. Masterful in its tactical analysis of a guerrilla war, brilliant at exposing the confusion at the center of battle, it also, like *War and Peace*, weaves a tapestry of pas-

Like Tolstoy, Llosa weaves a tapestry of passions in which people emerge distinct without leaving their place in a complex historical process.

sions in which individuals emerge distinct without leaving their place in a complex historical process. Like Tolstoy, Vargas Llosa believes that history is contingent, shaped in part by the conflicts that warring doctrines of predestination engender.

In this novel, you can see boldly why Vargas Llosa has made so many enemies on the left, and why he is reviled by the Cuban intelligentsia as well as Cuba supporters. For him, the rebellion in Canudos is not a revolutionary act—not even potentially. It is part of a pathological clash of fanaticisms out of which no healthy new society emerges. (He sees unnerving parallels between Canudos and the struggles today in the Peruvian highlands, where radical leftists and government forces fight it out with peasants as fodder.)

The multilayered drama of Canudos is developed with superb skill from the perspective of major participants. Vargas Llosa creates characters—some fictional, many historical—among Canudos' leaders and followers; military officers and men; a plantation owner; Republican politicians using Canudos to undermine plantation owners' power; and representing the foreign and

the left (not an accidental unity here), a Scottish anarchist convinced that Canudos is really a vote for anarchism.

Vargas Llosa has the mark of a writer who lives so surely inside his characters that there is no need for them to talk at length. A novel that starts slow, *The War at the End of the World* cannot be read quickly even when its pitiless drama captures the reader, because the story is too dense to be digested in a hurry.

Fanaticism.

The theme of the novel is fanaticism, in all its forms. Most obvious is that of the simply pious followers of Antonio the Counselor, who held that people should devote themselves to the Lord in the imminent prospect of the millennium, and that they should resist the satanic secularism of the Republic. As that fanaticism is lived out by ex-bandits, abandoned women and the dregs of a travelling freak show, it looks no more grotesque—indeed, somewhat more hopeful—than the barbaric terms of their previous existences as slaves and near-slaves, starved peasants and castaways. Their understanding of salvation matches their perception of their bleak future in

IN THESE TIMES. NOV. 14-20, 1984. 19 society. By the end of the novel, it is possible to understand why, when Canudos is under its final attack, peasants stream from all over the backlands to get in.

The rigid terms of backlands culture, ruled by a strict and archaic code of honor and shame, prepare them for evangelical fury. A backlands cowboy whose wife is abducted by the Scottish anarchist enters into a duel to the death to defend his family's honor, and so exposes its centrality in daily life. As a local priest explains, "It's as though they were one great open wound. They don't have a thing to their names but they possess a surpassing sense of honor. It's their form of wealth."

Into this world enters the anarchist zealot, who tries to open peasants' eyes with such phrases as: "Your sickness is called injustice, a base exploitation.... Occupy the lands, the houses...." His words only bore and confuse people, and a member of the freak show harangues him: "Feel their heads, predict the future—do something that'll make them happy!" When reality is unbearable, magic is essential.

Fanaticism is by no means the preserve of the illiterate and poor. Vargas Llosa is just as scathing in his portrayal of agents of the state. The plantation owner explains a reality confirmed in the actions of a suicidal military commander of Canudos: "He's not interested in money or honor, and perhaps not even power in itself. It's abstract things that motivate him to act: an unhealthy nationalism, the worship of technical progress, the belief that only the army can impose order and save this country from chaos and corruption. An idealist of the same stamp as Robespierre...."

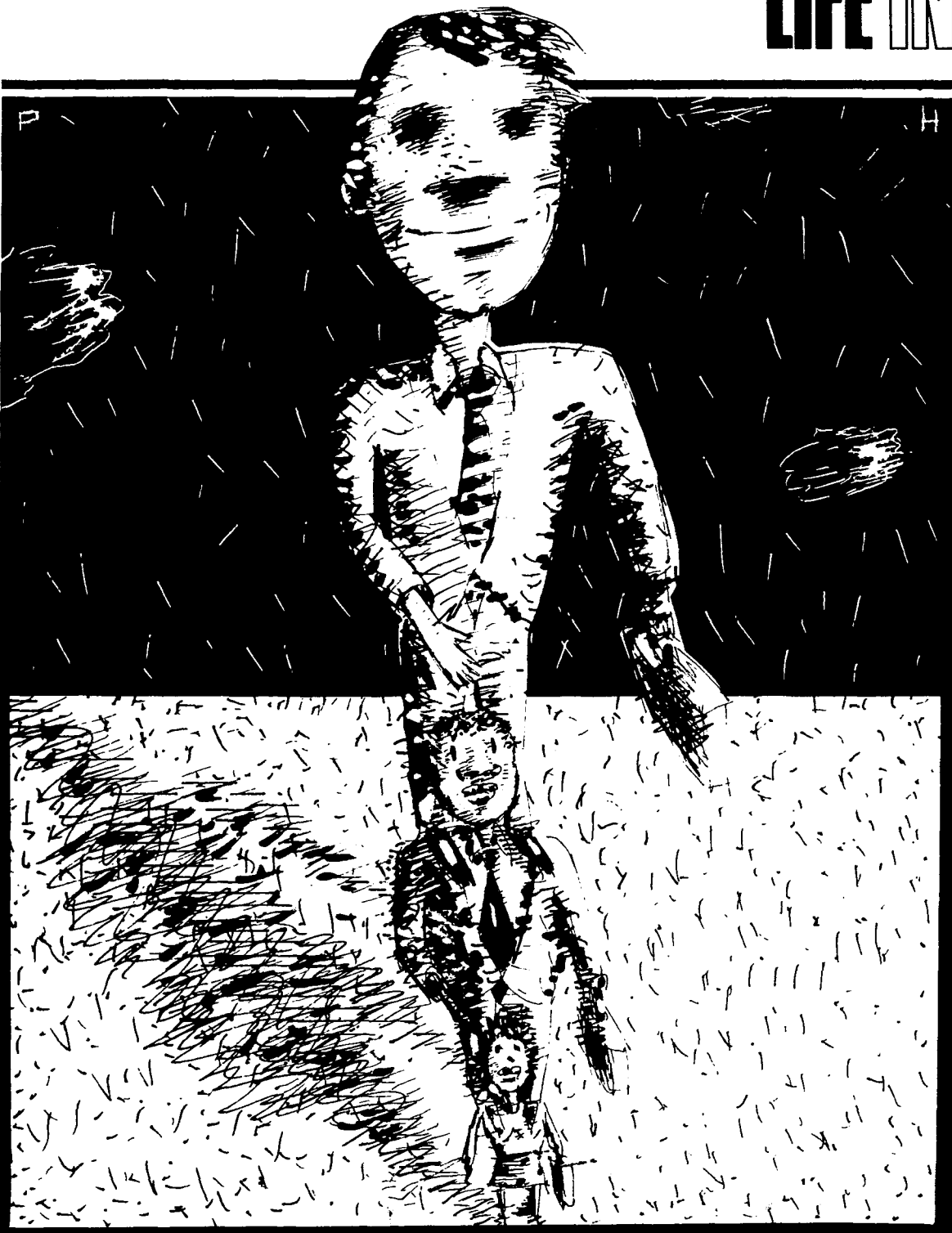
The baron eventually surrenders, once his plantation and his wife's sanity have been destroyed, to his political enemies the Republicans. He says to his opponent: "The time has come for action, daring, violence, even crimes. What is needed now is a total dissociation of politics from morality." For him, out of the collapse of relationships held together with brute force and the harsh order of honor and deference, comes only the rankest opportunism.

Elegant, perceptive (and self-consciously reactionary), the baron often appears to echo the author's sentiments. But another voice also carries the author's acerbic commentary—that of a confused reporter whose cowardice, Vargas Llosa tells us, is matched only by his curiosity. The reporter covers every campaign, and ends up trapped in Canudos up to the end. Loosely modeled on Da Cunha, he quickly asserts a personality of his own. When he is not abjectly terrified, he is pondering how most journalism gets so distorted. Of one reporter's account, he says, "He didn't write what he saw but what he felt and believed, what those all around him felt and believed. That's how the whole tangled web of false stories and humbug got written."

The War at the End of the World is a novel so complex and yet so accessible that it begs to be read again, and to be shared. There are political challenges in it, but no mandates. If it is about Latin American politics and society then and, to some extent, now, it also transcends its setting with a profound and sympathetic understanding of people whose humanity has been crippled too long.

©Pat Aufderheide

LIFE IN THE U.S.



SOCIAL POLICY

New report kills myths of affirmative action

By Pat Aufderheide

Affirmative action—good advertising for business? That's what a recent report shows: 78 percent of some 200 corporation heads found that their affirmative employment programs had enhanced the company's image and goodwill.

But for the last four years the Reagan administration has acted as if affirmative action was not only bad for business but positively un-American.

You can tick it off—cutbacks in budget at the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, appointments that have turned the Civil Rights Commission hostile to affirmative action, a Justice Department whose civil rights head, William Bradford Reynolds, defiantly refuses even to file EEOC forms for his own agency. And more—but you get the drift.

Certain people in Washington, D.C., took this all personally. They are ex-officials and lawyers who have dedicated hefty chunks of their lives, as good Republicans and good Democrats, to creating and executing affirmative action programs and legislation.

People like Arthur Flemming,

former chair of the Civil Rights Commission; William Taylor, former staff director of the Commission; Eleanor Holms Norton, former EEOC chair; William Brown III, also a former EEOC chair; Elliott Richardson, former attorney general; and a dozen others who belong to the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights. They are concerned these days about bad government—particularly about the erosion or destruction of independent agencies and established law. They are also concerned about bad ideas. They think Reagan is wrong to oppose affirmative action, but they're afraid he's persuasive.

Like David before Goliath, they're willing to go up against the Big Lie with plain facts: 217 pages of them, in fact, in a report called *Affirmative Action to Open the Doors of Job Opportunity: a Policy of Fairness and Compassion that Has Worked*. (Well, no one said they were snappy writers.) It summarizes the history of affirmative action, the Reagan administration's response and the record of affirmative action for private corporations over the last 20 years.

Like its title, the report is a touch earnest in presentation. But that's more than compensated for by the surprise factor in its

information. The thing is an understated little mythslayer. When you see the slingshot, duck.

Myth: *Affirmative action means quotas*. Affirmative action does not mean quotas. It never meant quotas. There is no legislation that says anyone must meet quotas. At all. Numerical goals are regularly used, especially in post-1978 legislation that applies to government contractors and to government employers. That's because no other rule of thumb worked.

Not even the most diehard affirmative action supporters will tell you that numerical goals (based, for instance, on the percentage of the social group in the civil labor force) are a great idea, or deny that they can lead to underrepresentation of some, less-well-counted minorities. They only say that they're better than other, more vague rules of thumb. And they're a heck of a lot better than trusting to luck.

Myth: *Affirmative action was a good idea, but it never really worked*. Consider the most limited objective of the passel of legislation going under the rubric "affirmative action"—to increase the proportion of minorities and women hired. In 1978, five years after AT&T signed a consent agreement with the

EEOC, women in craft jobs increased from 2.8 to more than 10 percent; males in clerical jobs increased from 4.6 to 10 percent.

Between 1974 and 1980, among some 77,000 companies with 20 million employees, those with government contracts (and therefore affirmative action plans) increased minority employment 20 percent and female employment 15 percent, while non-contractors only increased those categories 12 and 2 percent respectively. Among contractors, black and female officials and managers rose 96 and 73 percent respectively, while among non-contractors it was only 50 and 36 percent.

Myth: *Affirmative action keeps employers from hiring the best person for the job, and it is unfair to white males*. Affirmative action, especially as a general policy applied nation-wide, means that merit can surface instead of being smothered by discriminatory practices. And the law has consistently supported the rights of whites already hired in a situation of declining workforce. In crisis, some workplaces have worked out job-sharing programs that avoid job loss for whites even under dire financial circumstances.

Myth: *Affirmative action is a New Society idea, brought to us by Kennedy liberals*. Actually, the concept behind affirmative action—that government must take positive steps to ensure equality of opportunity—goes back to the Reconstruction era with the Freedmen's Bureau. After a dismal history of retrenchment, it arose again under the New Deal, when equal opportunity clauses were made part of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933.

When postwar employment statistics revealed minorities being shut out after getting a break during wartime, Eisenhower brought back affirmative action clauses for defense contractors. It did take Kennedy and finally the Civil Rights Act, however, to put this era of affirmative action into effect.

Myth: *Affirmative Action was imposed by big government*. Yes and no: it's true that the record of voluntary participation stinks. Neither big defense contractors nor big government-backed projects like the San Francisco subway system BART showed much influence of broad legislative hints that hiring should use affirmative action guidelines. It took a grassroots protest and boycott

of a major construction project in 1966 in St. Louis to put some backbone in the government's demands.

Myth: *If government would just get out of the way, employers would hire people on their merits*. Forget it. Even after public protest, a Lockheed "Plan for Progress" in the late '50s stayed a good idea on paper. In fact, it was only after near-universal failure that numerical goals became part of government policy.

Even now, with heads of such major corporations as Hewlett-Packard, IBM and Control Data self-styled enthusiasts for affirmative action, the middle managers in those companies are chafing under regulation and carry newspaper clips of the administration's views into their bosses' offices.

Myth: *Employers hate affirmative action and support the administration*. So wrong. In fact, some members of the contractor community actually protested when the administration tried to lift requirements to file written affirmative action plans; among other things, they thought the plans protected them from lawsuits.

Some 200 corporations surveyed recently by the Citizens' Commission found that affirmative action had resulted in improved management. Most liked the way their procedures for hiring, promotion and performance had been standardized and made more effective.

Overwhelmingly the managers said they now identified qualified people more efficiently; that their employees were happier, making for lower job turnover, less absenteeism and a smoother work environment. And it turns out to be good for business.

The Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, for instance, discovered a new market among blacks for its health plans once black doctors were included. Equitable Life Assurance Society now has the largest number of black sales staff among major insurers and—guess what—has a large number of black policy holders.

Myth: *The Supreme Court has challenged affirmative action*. I'll let you read the fine print on some of the more recent cases, but the upshot is this: No. The Supreme Court has consistently endorsed the principle behind affirmative action—yes, the Burger Court—although in some cases it has ruled that affirmative action may not apply to the case in question.

In the *Bakke* case, a fave of affirmative action foes, Justice Harry Blackmun, who concurred in part, wrote, "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently."

Myth: *The Reagan administration is opposed to affirmative action*. Not even this is quite true. Yes, the Reagan administration over the last few years was critical of much in affirmative action law. But even the Justice Department endorses the concept by recognizing minority recruitment as a solid government objective.

©Pat Aufderheide

To order the report, write Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights, 620 Michigan Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20064.

Affirmative action means that merit can surface instead of being smothered by discriminatory practices.

By Michael S. Kimmel

In the world of popular music, as in other cultural forms, vital radical politics thrive on the margins while the center is often captured by bland pabulum that can go down easily for everyone. Yet it appears equally axiomatic that today's margin can be tomorrow's center, and in the process become denuded of its urgency.

Rock and roll itself, originally propelled by adolescent sexual agonies and spasmodically anti-authoritarian politics, has become comfortable and safe. We rarely remember what's lost between Buddy Holly and A Flock of Seagulls, between Little Richard and Al Jarreau.

In recent years, as the pop center was preoccupied with tasteless techno-pop instead of agitprop, the vitality of the marginal subculture was best expressed by punk's uncontrollably desperate rage and reggae's fluidly sensual anti-imperialist vision. (And the fusion of the two proved especially compelling, either in the center with the Police or on the margin with the English Beat.)

But the anger of marginal subcultures can, at times, prove profitable to the moguls of the corporate center, especially if they'll only clean up their act a little. So as the Sex Pistols self-destruct, Clash becomes a cheap-imitation copy band; as Bob Marley becomes a reggae legend, once equally political performers like Jimmy Cliff or Fred Hibbert help us forget that Marley's political vision was a profound political challenge to the corporations that recorded him.

Much of reggae now edges toward mainstream respectability. Groups such as Third World or Toots and the Maytals appear more concerned with access to the airwaves than conveying a religious and political message. (Even muting the message doesn't hold much promise, though, since American VJs have evidently decided that black bands don't make good videos.)

Steel Pulse, one of reggae's most musically adept bands, is a good example of this trend. The cover of their recent album, *Earth Crisis* (Elektra), suggests an uncompromising political message, as an image of the Pope stands with raised arms between a beatific Reagan and a sober and now somewhat anachronistic Andropov, while below them a Vietnamese boy wails, African children starve and English riot police scurry. But appearances are deceiving, and while Steel Pulse's driving beat remains compelling, they offer mixed musical messages.

Reggae's religious vision, drawn from Rastafarian tradition, is omnipresent on this album, and reggae is "still the key vehicle for the voice of Rasta to be heard," says Pulse composer David Hinds. Some cuts, like "Tightrope" and "Grab Education," deliver an unambiguously progressive punch. But when Steel Pulse gets explicitly political, they edge toward an apocalyptic vision and some unpleasant conclusions.

On "Earth Crisis" Hinds reveals a reverence for "a strong leader...who will put a stop to this madness," and on "Wild Goose Chase" he suggests that technological innovations endanger human survival.

So far, so good, right? The neo-Luddite laundry list includes robotics, nuclear technology and chemicals in our food as well as birth control technology and abortion, which Hinds calls "le-

gal murder." "On a wild goose chase/ Laws of nature they just can't face," goes the chorus. If the group weren't black, this is a song Jesse Helms could sing along with.

As Steel Pulse softens its message and adds disturbing elements, other reggae bands thrive on the margins. Black Uhuru, whose 1981 album *Red* is one of reggae's finest records, have successfully linked a relentlessly driving sound to an undiluted vision.

On their latest release, *Anthem* (Island), Uhuru offers their strongest musical statement. Renowned reggae rhythm masters Robbie Shakespeare and Sly Dunbar round out their sound and add technical wizardry, while the vocal trio of Michael Rose, Puma and Duckie Simpson counsel political unity and restraint without a loss of moral outrage. In addition to religion,



IN THESE TIMES NOV. 14-20, 1984 21
John Denver's "Take Me Home Country Roads"—hardly the voice of resistance.

Yellowman and Steel Pulse want to make music; Linton Kwesi Johnson wants to make history, which he demonstrates on his aptly titled *Making History* (Mango). Johnson has emerged as that voice of resistance, and has become a leader of England's black community. On record, he harnesses a relentless driving sound to carry his angrily biting political message. Basing his extended dub poetry on daily news events, Johnson's songs have a political immediacy reminiscent more of Woody Guthrie or Phil Ochs than Diana Ross or Michael Jackson.

"Reggae Fi Radni" mourns the death of Guyanese leader Walter Rodney, and "New Craas Massahkah" laments a suspicious fire that claimed the lives of 13 young blacks in South London. "Di Great Insohreckshan" celebrates the Brixton riots as a moment of heroic resistance by England's black community. And "Di Eagle and Di Bear" and "Wat About Di Workin' Class?" state unequivocally that while Russia and the U.S. battle it out—with neither system offering a viable model for the future—the rest of the world lives in fear of nuclear holocaust.

Imagine swaying and dancing to lines like "The capitalist system's in a mess/ But the Soviet system's not progress" and you'll get a sense how political sensibility and musical excitement are not mutually exclusive.

Finally, all this shuffling of center and margin allows new musical forms to appear on the fringe of the pop mainstream. For example, the "discovery" of King Sunny Ade and his juju sound by rock audiences signals the first stage of the incorporation of African pop. (Happily, his new record *Aura* [Island] avoids diluting his distinctive sound too much.)

And Ruben Blades could place salsa in pop's center. Blades, a Panamanian, is one of Latin America's most popular performers. On *Buscando America* (Elektra) he offers a lightly bouncing salsa sound with hauntingly evocative lyrics. Unlike Johnson's brilliant use of news stories, though, Blades paints landscapes of cultural memory, fictionalized accounts of a working class that knows no boundaries but spreads out in a Hispanic diaspora throughout the Americas.

If Johnson is the Woody Guthrie of Brixton, Blades is the Gabriel Garcia Marquez of salsa music. His imagistic language transcends political borders and links past and present. "Decisiones" examines how many choose to stay numb to the political realities that surround them, and "Desaparaciones" chillingly chronicles the reality of totalitarianism. "El Padre Antonio y El Monaguillo Andres" is a story of the death-squad murder of a priest and his alter boy. While the incident is imaginary, the political reality it expresses is terrifyingly real.

So while other groups are knocking patiently on the doors of mainstream acceptability, several performers—like Uhuru, LKJ and Blades—retain an uncompromising political vision and excitingly compelling music. I'm convinced that if Emma Goldman were alive today, this is the revolution at which she'd be dancing.

Michael Kimmel writes regularly on music for *In These Times*.

ART <> ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Relevance on the fringe



Dub poet Linton Kwesi Johnson (top) and salsa artist Ruben Blades

their Rasta vision also offers a coherent source of opposition, bringing together disparate elements that are often separated by slight variations in their expressions.

A cover of Little Steven's "Solidarity," originally about Poland, becomes an internationalist hymn, and "What Is Life?" offers alliances between the sexes based on mutual respect. And you can really dance to it.

As reggae moved deeper into pop's mainstream, other forms emerged on its margins to convey a less compromising vision.

The late '70s spawned "toasting," during which a poet would recite some hard-edged lyrics over a "dub" record, an instrumental rhythm background to a reggae beat. (Of course, this has also become utterly conventional, as toasters/rappers like Grandmaster Flash and George Clinton, and popular films featuring rapping, breakdancing and other aspects of the "hip-hop" subculture gain wider notice.)

Nowhere is this more evident than on Yellowman's first American release, *King Yellowman* (Columbia). An albino Jamaican,

Yellowman is one of that country's hottest recording stars, and his extemporaneous patter over dub tracks is widely imitated.

But Yellowman seems preoccupied with himself and especially his sexual exploits, as on "Strong Me Strong" and "Wha Dat." And in his bid for commercial acceptance, he even interweaves his raps with passages from conventional pop songs. For example, on "Jamaica Nice" he offers a climatic comparison between London and Kingston (in Jamaica's favor, of course) and suddenly breaks into

Ramirez

Continued from page 13

cating the unruly savages—on account of their racial inferiority—who, according to the canons of William Walker, were worthy only of slavery.

Since then our country has had imposed upon it not only submission, dictated by the divinity, but also a model of political conduct that was the acceptance of external domination.

From the dogma of political and cultural domination there was no room left to aspire toward independence or thought of our own; the North American political system that our grandees aspired to and for whose adoption they fought, turned into the perpetual expansion of puritans armed for conquest and a destiny that had to be accepted, no matter how bitter. The triumph of this enterprise of domination presupposed the elimination of our national identity, of any thought of our own, of any attempt to evolve a political model, to develop our own creative potential. The powerful, strong and wise Yankees were masters of all the initiatives and the future; we, the cause and the product of underdevelopment, could be masters of nothing but our own misery, of our poverty, which could only generate more poverty, condemned to live on the ideological surplus of the perfect model of Yankee democracy that every four years, amid colored balloons, elected its presidents, who were prepared in any case to tighten the screws of domination in our countries, in the name of the bankers and financiers whose clutches neither Jefferson nor Madison foresaw.

That's why, when the New Right hears talk of our own model in Nicaragua, it raises its eyebrows in disdain and discontent and its initial expression of surprise turns to one of rage.

But political models wear out when they begin to serve interests for which they were never intended. For us, the effi-

cacy of a political model depends on its capacity to solve the problem of democracy, and the problem of justice. Effective democracy, like that we're attempting to practice in Nicaragua, means full popular participation, a permanent dynamic of the people's organic involvement in multiple political and social tasks. It means a people who express their opinions and are listened to, a people who contribute, who build, who direct, who mobilize, who attend to communal problems of their neighbors and of the nation; a people active in their own sovereignty, ready to fight in its defense, and also for literacy, for education, for vaccinations. In short, it means a democracy practiced every day, not just once every four years, but also, if given the chance, every four or five or six years when we will have formal elections. It means going to the polls as an entire people, voting consciously and making the best choice, not for a candidate marketed like a brand of soap or deodorant but a conscious leader, with a vote not manipulated by an advertising agency, a vote for change, for improving the country and not for transitional financial interests or military-industrial trusts.

Beyond that, democracy for us is not merely a formal model but a constant process capable of resolving the fundamental problems of development and capable of giving the people who participate and vote the real possibility of transforming the conditions of their lives, a democracy that establishes justice and does away with exploitation.

A political model arises from the necessities imposed by real conditions. Our Sandinista model rises out of the long domination of the U.S. in Nicaragua, a domination that was political and economic as well as military, and at the same time was social and ideological, even cultural. Faced with that domination our model establishes national independence as a vital necessity, and along with it the recovery of our national resources and a will for developing an economic project that, while transforming the country, gives us the opportunity to generate

wealth and to distribute it justly.

When people speak of our copying a model, one must keep in mind that what *somocismo* did for half a century was to copy in a servile manner the model imposed by the U.S. Nicaragua was bound to the most radical capitalist model, a market economy that impoverished the country and threw away the chances for its real development; and along with this model of capitalism at all costs, the dependence at all costs on markets, raw materials, means of capital; Nicaragua as a satellite of the U.S., Nicaragua behind a true iron curtain, with thick bars and a triple padlock. And, of course, the Somoza family also imported the political model of elections every four years, which they had there, and a system of two political parties, which they had there, and a legislative system with two chambers, and a supreme court, and a constitution and laws. And it was all a bloody joke.

And that imported, copied, imposed model failed historically, and now we are seeking our own model. We're no longer a satellite of the United States, we're no longer behind the iron curtain of the U.S., and we're free, sovereign and independent, something that was written deceitfully into all the Somoza constitutions, but is true today, even though we haven't yet written our constitution.

In order to consolidate this national project, this model of our own of a sovereign revolution, we're ready for any

challenge and any sacrifice. To make possible that idea and nurse it into ongoing existence, the people of Nicaragua are armed and prepared to defend their project and their model of revolution. And they are prepared to attain a definitive peace that will permit the flowering of that model, which we don't intend to impose on anyone—because they have their real political borders, which are those of Nicaragua. We are not a people chosen by God to fulfill a manifest destiny, we have no capital to export, nor transnational enterprises to protect beyond our borders. Our dreams are not of domination, nor of expansion, nor of conquest, but the humble dreams of a humble people aspiring to full justice and full independence.

That is why we want to live in peace, and grow in peace, and multiply in peace the example of a sovereign people who never thought to ask anyone's permission to make their revolution, and will not ask anyone's permission to defend it.

A free country or death.

Sergio Ramirez Mercado, Nicaraguan novelist, short story writer and essayist, is a member of that country's *Governing Junta of National Reconstruction*. His books include *To Bury Our Fathers* (a novel), *Charles Atlas Also Dies* (stories) and *The Living Thought of Sandino* (essay). This article was translated by Stephen Kessler, a poet and journalist in Santa Cruz, Calif. It appeared in Spanish in the Mexico City monthly, *Plural*.

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CALENDAR

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NEW YORK

November 11-28

Jericho, a musical legend based on the November 3, 1979, murders of five civil rights/labor leaders in Greensboro, NC. Showcase Run at 18th St. Playhouse, Sunday-Wednesday, 7:30 p.m., \$6. For reservations call (212) 678-7258.

November 16

N.Y. DSA Annual Fundraiser, Friday, November 16, 7:00 p.m. in tribute to Cleveland Robinson of District 65 UAW and The Human Serve Fund. Special guests: William Lucy of AFSCME, Francis Fox Piven, Hon. Basil Paterson. Entertainment Tom Chapin. Buffet supper. \$40/person. At John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St., Call (212) 260-3270.

CHICAGO

November 11-January 31

The Ribbon—A Celebration of Life, segments of a ten mile long "ribbon of peace" created by thousands of people at The Peace Museum's new gallery, 430 W. Erie, (312) 440-1860. Admission \$1.50 adults, \$.50 students, senior citizens. Group rates available. Museum and Gift Shop: Tuesday-Sunday, 12:00-5:00 p.m., Thursday, 12:00-8:00 p.m.

November 16

Aaron Freeman performs as Third Unitarian Church celebrates its 116th anniversary! Wine and cheese, etc., for \$5. 8 p.m., Third Unitarian Church, 301 N. Mayfield (5900 W.) (312) 626-9385. TUC has more subscribers to *ITT* than any other church in the U.S!

November 17

"...Mightier Than the Sword: A Tribute to Ruth Adams and Dennis Brutus," Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. A benefit for the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Reception and cash bar 6:00, dinner 7:00. Donation \$35. Call (312) 939-0675 for more information.

December 2

A Peasant of El Salvador, a powerful and original play acclaimed by audiences from Los Angeles to London. Presented Sunday, Dec. 2, at 3:00 p.m., People's Church, 941

W. Lawrence, Donation \$10. Benefit for Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America. Call (312) 663-4398.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 20

"Post Election Analysis: Where Do Progressives Go From Here?" National Lawyers Guild Forum. Speakers: Lance Compa, Washington representative of the United Electrical Workers; Jack O'Dell, Rainbow Coalition; Dorothy Healey, Democratic Socialists of America. Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.; George Washington University, Law School, Lerner Hall, Rm. 301, 2000 H St., NW.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

November 23

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. A fast, punchy, musical-comedy—with a message! November 23rd, 8:00 p.m., Performing Arts Auditorium, St. Paul Central High School. Sponsored by the Victor Jara Memorial Fund & others. Call (612) 729-5465.

DULUTH, MN

November 28

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. A fast, punchy, musical comedy with a message! November 27th, 7:30 p.m., Marshall Performing Arts Center, University of Minnesota at Duluth. Sponsored by the Duluth Central Labor Body, Area unions & Community groups. Call (218) 834-5248 or (218) 722-5715.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

November 30-December 2

"After the Elections: What's Next for the Left?" Public forum Friday night. Conference Saturday & Sunday. With Barbara Ehrenreich, Frances Fox Piven, Michael Harrington, Bill Tabb, Stanley Aronowitz, Hubert James, Richard Healey, Loretta Williams, Bogdan Denitch. Sponsored by Institute for Democratic Socialism, Suite 801, 853 Broadway, NYC 10003, (212) 260-3270.

December 10

Dr. Carl Sagan will give featured address and receive Peace Award at SANE Education Fund's annual dinner, Monday, December 10, at the Franklin Institute. Wine served 6:00 p.m., dinner 7:00 p.m. Tickets \$40. SANE, 5808 Greene St., Philadelphia, PA 19114, (215) 848-4100.

TV killer

Continued from page 24

Then it came to me. The previous summer in one of my periodic paroxysms of longing for my lost youth, I had bought a slingshot. Once, with such a weapon fashioned by my own hand from the forked branch of an apple tree and the elastic from an aunt's old girdle, I had become proficient at aceing rats in my grandfather's barn, pretending that they were creatures partaking in a plot to destroy humanity.

But that was in the pre-TV days, when I had an imagination. It seemed fitting that my action to rid myself of my electronic curse should be accomplished by that self-same weapon that was the trusted instrument of my youthful imaginings.

I took six .23 caliber steel BBs from the leather pouch, the very leather pouch I had worn on my belt during marbles duels on St. Joseph's blacktopped playground. Now in one stroke I would be free again, perhaps once again able to capture the marvels of youth.

I put the first BB into the leather thong and stretched the rubber bands a few times. I stood about 12 feet away from the table where the TV sat, sullen and arrogant as one of the Dalton boys at OK corral. I pulled the BB past my ear and let fly. The first shot sailed into the darkness of the basement, pinging against the washing machine.

Reloading I took two steps forward. Again I drew back the BB and let it go. This time, I was right on target. But it was not to be so easy. Without making a mark on the TV, the BB ricocheted off the screen and whanged back just past

my head, right at eye level.

I got my safety goggles and reloaded, this time at about eight paces. As an afterthought, I put on my heavy winter coat, zipping it up to the neck. Let there be war.

With all my might I drew back the third BB. Again a direct hit, and this time a small spider of a crack appeared, like that made by a stone on the windshield of your new car just after the warranty expires.

I fired again and again. Cracks ran in dark, tear-like streams across the screen. Was it bleeding? Did I hear a scream? What if there was machine intelligence lurking there?

I stopped, and almost plugged it in to see if it was all right. Then I steeled myself, drew six more BBs from the pouch to finish the job. There was no turning back. The glass shattered as round after round burrowed into the tube, until at last I was spent, content, free.

A week later, under a full moon, I buried it, digging a four-foot hole in the garden, where that summer's sweet corn had grown. Nothing has grown since. Though each spring I half expect to see tiny cathode ray tubes sprouting.

That was four years ago and I've stayed mostly clean since then. It was hard at first. The initial week I had to be physically restrained from rushing out to buy a replacement. The second week I spent pacing around the living room, like a dog waiting for its master to return. The third week I spent staring at a blank rectangle I had drawn on the wall. The fourth week I devoted three hours each evening to flossing my teeth, just so I had something to do.

By the end of a month I had begun to get my act together. I had replaced the

show biz tidbits of network news with the in-depth coverage of National Public Radio and a variety of magazines. I learned that radio sportscasters really do make you see the game, in a way TV never could.

I began to read more, spend more time talking with family and friends, more time attending real live sporting events and concerts, instead of being mugged by the artificial reality of so-called live TV. A TV broadcast of the World Series can never be as live as a local softball game between Partner's Pub and Ella's Bar & Grill.

Oh, I backslide occasionally. One Monday night a year after the assassination, a friend found me on his front steps in hysterics, crying, "Howard! Danderoo! Forgive me, please." My friend, not knowing he was doing me no favor, propped me in front of his 21-inch color set just as the second half began. It was only during a Lite beer commercial that I realized what was happening, grabbed myself by the shirt collar, and threw myself out, just as Dandy Don broke into a chorus of "Turn Out the Lights."

And I've had other lapses. Once in a while I sneak into low bars to sneak a few minutes of the NCAA playoffs or the World Series. And I have been known to spend Saturday afternoons trying to look inconspicuous in the TV department of Montgomery Wards. All those screens, all shapes and sizes, color, black and white, all blazing at once. Sometimes I find myself fidgeting with my wallet, pulling out my charge card. Then with saintly resolve, I turn on my heel and walk out, feeling like an altar boy who just turned down his first glimpse at Playboy.

I would like to think my addiction was uncommon, but I know better. Walk into

any living room and every chair has been placed so that it faces the TV, as if some electromagnetic force had redecorated every room in America. TVs sprout in every room, small ones in each bedroom, one on the kitchen table, one in the basement, one in the garage, two spares in the attic, just in case.

If some alien anthropologist were to examine our homes, the conclusion would undoubtedly be that these TVs were some kind of shrine to a powerful diety.

Perhaps you think you do not worship the electronic god, that you are not addicted. Perhaps you should think again. A recent study indicated the average viewer watches seven hours of TV a day. That's nearly half of your waking hours.

What is interesting about this statistic is that almost everyone I know proclaims, "I hardly watch TV at all" or "I only watch the educational programs." Hah. And my cat doesn't shed, you can't get fat on light beer and Dan Rather is underpaid. Since I know I don't watch TV any more, the rest of you must be the ones bringing up the average.

My advice, if you haven't the stomach to follow my own murderous example, is to own only one television and make it a black and white, super-heavy portable. Then put it somewhere where it will be a real pain in the posterior to get at, like on your roof or at the bottom of your freezer. Then at least you'll have to think twice before hauling it out and switching it on.

Meanwhile, if you want to find me some November night, and if you can come out of your TV trance long enough to look out your window, I'll be the one kicking through the leaves, counting the stars, talking with the moon.

Richard Behm is a freelance writer based in Wisconsin.

CLASSIFIED

HELP WANTED

ADMINISTRATOR—SAN FRANCISCO—Statewide community organization seeks administrative director to oversee finances, payroll, computerized membership mailing lists, administrative tasks. Must be familiar with bookkeeping and accounting. Computer experience helpful. Apply by December 1 to: Ken Smith, Director, Citizens Action League, 1417 S. Georgia St., Los Angeles, CA 90015. (213) 749-8350.

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Business Analyst to conduct loan evaluations for worker cooperative financing organization. Half-time position. Applicants with MBA or equivalent and 2 years' experience preferred. EOE. Write ICA Revolving Loan Fund, 249 Elm St., Somerville, MA 02144 by Nov. 23, 1984.

PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, NOVEMBER—Editorial, "Peres' Rush to Washington," Helen Ginsburg, "Holes in the Safety Net," Selma R. Siegel, "Jewish Books for Youth," Roger B. Goodman, "Shalom Aleichem in a New Light." Single copies postpaid, \$1.50. Subscription \$12 USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 E. 17 St., NYC 10003.

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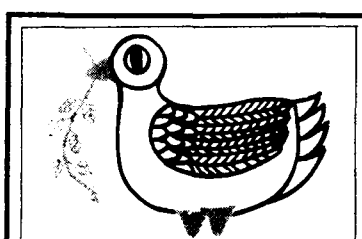
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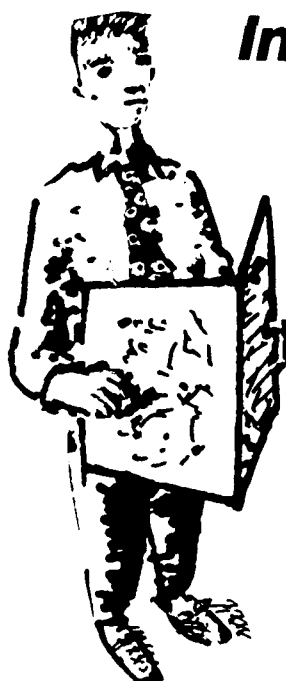
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Illustration: The History of Shock Treatment

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I CONFESS. I DID IT. IT WAS A SUNDAY evening, one of those windy November nights when the twilight fades to lavender, and the first stars wheel overhead, and waves of red and gold leaves dance down the streets. But I had seen none of it, gripped as I was by an addiction so strong that only an act of violence could break it.

I had watched my usual quantity of NFL football that afternoon, beginning with pregame shows before noon and ending about 6:30. "60 Minutes" came on late, but I stayed tuned for the complete broadcast, just as I was told to do.

The familiar lethargy and depression descended upon me. Seven for-

ty-five and the "60 Minutes" crew again had emerged white-horsed heroes; Andy Rooney had flourished his bric-a-brac wit. I turned restlessly from station to station, sitcom to cop show and back to sitcom.

I knew what I was looking for: T&A, gratuitous violence, anything to shake me from my stupor, or send me sailing again on those empty seas where time passes imperceptibly until suddenly the late movie is over and it's time, reluctantly, to turn off the set and head to bed, the dim afterglow casting eerie light throughout the room.

My hands were shaking and I was sweating as I dialed faster and faster, my face but a few inches from the flickering screen. But nothing seem-

ed to help. What to do now? What?

It was then that it hit me. I felt like Saul being enlightened on the way to Damascus. I was an addict, a television addict. I needed my fix just as surely as a junkie needs his coke. Desperate thoughts scrambled through my brain; reels of Cronkite newscasts, a jumbled collage of sitcoms, game shows, Johnny Carson, late movies, the "Wide World of Sports", and me, trapped in all those useless hours, my brain turning slowly but surely to month-old tuna salad. I had to act, and to act immediately. Tomorrow, perhaps even in a few minutes, my resolve would be gone.

My first thought was simply to give it away. But should I inflict it on a

friend? Might I not renege and beg it back? Better to put it out with the morning trash. But trash pick-up wasn't until Wednesday. I'd never keep my resolve until then, and besides, letting it live after what it had done to me was too good for it. There was only one alternative.

I carried the set down to the basement. I thought that I could hammer it to death, pounding it into a pile of plastic and glassy debris. But then I recalled hearing stories about residual electrical charges stored inside, and I envisioned my hammer sparking, shooting voltage through my body as the TV took me with it to its silent grave. I had heard of some people who shot their TVs, but I owned no gun.

Continued on page 23